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CHURCH UNION IN CANADA

CLARIS EDWIN SILCOX

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Church Union in Canada

Its Causes and Consequences

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By

CLARIS EDWIN SILCOX

NEW YORK
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PREFACE

Following certain studies dealing with Protestant coöperation in the United States and with various types of united churches, the Institute of Social and Religious Research felt that a rewarding introduction to a study of the general problem of church unity would be a scientific analysis of the conditions and processes that led to the formation of The United Church of Canada. After preliminary consultation with the two Canadian churches most concerned, the United Church and the continuing Presbyterian Church, it was definitely decided, in January, 1930, to undertake the study. Included in the specifications for the project were the following:

> "The object of this proposal is to make a thorough examination and appraisal of the present operation of The United Church of Canada and of the processes by which union of the three constituent denominations was brought about, in order that the methods and results, scientifically recorded and analyzed, of this practical example of church union on a national scale may be made part of the available body of information regarding church unity. . . . The general approach to any study of The United Church of Canada should be in the attitude of disciples to a teacher. . . . It is of utmost importance for the information of those interested in church unity in the United States that the processes of union, the difficulties overcome, the mistakes made, and the early achievements of the United Church should be recorded and analyzed, while the facts are still fresh in the minds of men living."

The study was, therefore, planned in accordance with the fundamental objective expressed in these specifications. Further limitations were imposed by the magnitude of the task and the definite time—two years—allotted for the completion of the study. It was quite impossible, for instance, for the director to visit any of the foreign fields such as China, India, Japan, Africa, etc., in which The United Church of Canada is carrying on work, so as to discover at first hand the repercussions of church union in Canada upon the work and workers in these fields. In matters of this sort certain inadequacies in the report will doubtless be apparent.

Again, in the years immediately prior to Union the three negotiating churches had taken most significant steps towards the coördination of their work. Indeed in certain instances their achievement before Union had been perhaps even more significant than their achievements after Union. Thus it is pointed out in Part Two of this report that the coördination of work in theological education had advanced to such a point before 1925 (the year of Union) that the later task of actual consolidation of institutions of training was, for the most part, greatly simplified. To avoid the difficulty of seeming repetition, the director has stated what seemed to him to be the more significant developments in theological education in the section dealing with events prior to 1925, and has only touched briefly on certain special problems that emerged at individual institutions, such as Knox College and Victoria, Toronto, after church union was actually consummated.

Other apparent inadequacies in treatment may arise from the situation itself. It may seem, for instance, that in space alone something less than justice is done to the great part played by Methodism in the formation of the United Church. But the mere fact that the Methodist Church officially made up its mind on the subject at an early date in the negotiations, and thereafter never looked back, made it a comparatively simple matter to record the facts. The Presbyterian situation, on the other hand, was infinitely complicated and required far more detailed explication.

In a special way the emphasis of the report has been determined by those factors in the Canadian situation that may have a particular value to American churches contemplating union, either by way of encouragement or by way of warning. On account of this emphasis a larger place has been given to the history of the Canadian churches and to the psychology of the Canadian people than would be necessary if one could assume a familiarity on the part of people in the United States generally with the deeper backgrounds of Canadian life. In spite of the many ties that bind the two peoples together and of uncounted goodwill addresses, the Canadian temperament and tradition are quite different from those of the United States. Some consideration, therefore, of likeness and disparities between these two cultures would seem to provide an essential background against which to judge the success or failure of the church-union movement in Canada, and the adaptability to American conditions of the plan and methods followed.

A study such as this demands first, the conscientious effort to secure the facts and, secondly, an impartial and unbiased interpretation of them. Unfortunately, as in most studies of this character, it is not only difficult and sometimes impossible to obtain the facts with more than approximate accuracy, but it is also difficult to interpret them impartially and with due regard to the psychological factors involved. Scientific accuracy in the field of history, sociology and religion is at its best but approximate. To offset this danger, it was agreed before the study was launched that the results should be submitted before publication to representatives both of the United Church and of the continuing Presbyterian Church for their criticism and suggestion. In this way it was hoped to secure a description which should at the very least be recognized as fair on the factual side. The Institute of Social and Religious Research agreed to give full weight to all such criticism, but preserved its freedom to state the situation with candor and without concealment. While, therefore, valuable suggestions have been made by the representatives of the two churches, the responsibility for the findings is entirely assumed by the Institute and the director of the study.

In an impartial and scientific treatment of the progress of the church-union movement it is almost inevitable that the more idealistic aspects of it may seem to be under-estimated. This danger is implicit in the situation. There are various ways in which the history of any great and significant movement can be treated. The Great War, for instance, produced some unforgettable literature which captured the glow, the passion, the sacrifice, and even the hatred of those catastrophic days. On the other hand, histories of the same period have been published since the Treaty of Versailles which have dealt less with the enthusiasm of the time than with the dynamic processes of mobilization, the techniques for training, the strategies of opposing armies, the conflicts of national interests. Such scientific histories may not prove the best sellers and their authors may seem strangely cool and even indifferent to the idealism of the events which they seek to interpret. This coolness, however, is not necessarily due to any lack of sensitivity to the passion of the movements which the historian is describing, but rather to the fact that he is writing as an historian and not as a prophet, that he is concerning himself with the prose of the events and not with their poetry. Therefore, whether for its purposes this report may be deemed adequate or inadequate, there is still another story of the church-union movement in Canada which ought to be written before it is too late—a story that would concern itself with the spiritual forces, the ideals and the passions, of the eventful years between 1902 and 1925. This story can only be told by one who went through the conflicts of those times and emerged, with some scars perhaps, but also with an unquenchable fire in his eyes. Such a treatment could obviously not be attempted in the present study and would indeed have invalidated its essential purpose.

The author would like to express his gratitude to a large number of persons who have generously helped, either in the gathering of the data or in reading the manuscript. Lest confidences might unwittingly be betrayed, he refrains from mentioning any names, but wishes to pay grateful tribute to those who sought to make his task lighter and his interpretation sounder.

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INTRODUCTION

American visitors in Canada show exceptional interest in three nationwide experiments: Government control of the liquor business; Government ownership of such outstanding public utilities as the Canadian National Railways, the Ontario Hydro Electric Commission and the Manitoba Telephone System, and finally, the working out of the organic Union of the Congregational churches, the Methodist Church, Canada, and the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The present study deals with the third of these outstanding experiments and includes an impartial examination of the conditions and causes which led these three Canadian churches to take the initiative in creating an organic union, together with an appraisal of the results of the Union after seven years of actual operation.

When the study was first suggested, the criticism was advanced that this Canadian experiment could not be properly appraised before the lapse of at least twenty-five years. The criticism was well-taken. Forces have been released in Canada by the consummation of Church Union which are bound to result in momentous changes of various kinds, but in the city of average size these changes must be made very slowly if they are not to create more problems than they solve. The United Church of Canada inherited a competitive denominational system, the elimination of which, if effected at all, will be achieved only by a display of extraordinary tact and patience. Meanwhile, the study of actual achievements and actual failures will undoubtedly reveal more clearly the manifold types of problems which inevitably confront those who seek to fuse denominations all different, with marked dissimilarities in polity, doctrine, racial background and temperament.

This report falls rather naturally into three parts. The first presents general background and historical material indicating the forces which operated in Canada to make this country a pioneer in attempting so significant an experiment; the second part describes the actual processes by which the union was consummated and analyses the arguments urged and the policies adopted by those who favored union and those who opposed it; the third part seeks to indicate the growth of the United Church since its consummation in 1925, to outline the various problems, internal and external, the solution of which has been thrust upon it, and to evaluate its present position, not alone statistically but psychologically and sociologically, in the life of the nation.

In regard to the presentation and analysis of statistical facts, certain difficulties have proved almost unsurmountable. In the first place, church statistics are unfortunately too often notoriously inaccurate. The official statistician in one of the three uniting churches, in making his report to the national body in 1922, referred to instances where returns from ministers were not consistent with returns from lay officers in the same church, and added: "It is evident that in furnishing statistics, there are 'diversities of gifts.'" Members are often kept on the roll for years after their removal from a given parish—in some cases when they are ecclesiastically as good as dead, and in many cases after they are physically dead.

This inaccuracy became very apparent in Canada in the latter days of the controversy over Church Union, when it became necessary, especially in the Presbyterian Church, to determine who, in the individual church, had the right to vote as to whether or not the church would concur in the Union. The feeling was so intense in hundreds of churches that the campaign assumed all the characteristics of a political election. The membership rolls were scanned for every possible individual who might be entitled to cast his ballot. People who had not been to church for decades were visited and some of them became enthusiastic protagonists for or against Union. Men and women were brought long distances to exercise their franchise. Even with this intensity of zeal, church after church throughout the country found it impossible to locate one-third of the membership. Of the churches which voted to enter the Union, only 67.77 per cent. of the total membership cast their ballots. Of the churches which voted not to enter the Union only 77.25 per cent. cast their ballots. It may be assumed that in most instances every available person entitled to vote, voted. One is justified, therefore, in drawing the conclusion that at least 25 per cent. of the alleged membership of the churches did not materialize in the crisis, and this must have been largely due to the inflated condition of the rolls.

What was true of the Presbyterian statistics also proves to have been true of the Methodist and Congregational statistics, although in the Methodist Church no vote was taken immediately prior to 1925. But a study of the growth of individual churches in cities, between 1925 and 1931, clearly indicates that, following the consummation of Union, much attention was paid to the purging of the roll and thousands of names were dropped for the simple reason that the church had lost all contact with them.

A second difficulty in the matter of statistics is due to the different methods used in securing them in the three participating churches. Both Presbyterians and Congregationalists listed statistics under the individual congregation, no matter how many congregations might be grouped in a single pastoral charge. In the Methodist year-books, however, as in the year-books of the United Church since 1925, the statistics of the individual congregation are merged with those of the other congregations forming the pastoral charge. In this way, the statistical identity of the individual congregation was often completely lost, and as the boundaries and constituent parts of a pastoral charge change from time to time, comparable figures indicating growth or decline are impossible, except in the case of churches which have been, for years, the only congregation in the circuit. Quite apart, however, from the differences in listing churches, there was and is a disparity in the nature of the facts gathered. The Presbyterian Church in Canada seldom included figures relative to the value of the church property, or to the total amount of indebtedness. These figures, however, were included consistently by the former Methodist Church, as they are by the United Church today. The Methodists, on the other hand, gave no Sunday-school statistics for the pastoral charge, but these were lumped together in reports issued by the conferences. Thus it becomes impossible to make certain desirable comparisons between pre-union and post-union situations because of the lack of fundamental data which presumably are lost forever.

In the third place, the statistics of the United Church since 1925 have varied a good deal in authenticity from year to year. Naturally, one of the problems which church union brings with it on the clerical side involves the preparation of uniform methods of gathering statistics, and the first few years after Union experiments of different kinds were made with the former Methodist format as a general basis of procedure. The result, however, was a considerable confusion in the minds of those who filled in the forms, often due to assuming an identity of new with former methods where no such identity existed. By and large, however, the United Church has found a more satisfactory and uniform method of reporting, and the more recent statistics have a large measure of reliability.

A further difficulty confronting one who seeks comparable statistics in "case studies" is in the selection of the area over which such facts are to be sought. The former Presbyterian Church in Canada was divided into eight synods and seventy-eight presbyteries (excluding the presbytery of Honan, China), while the Methodist Church was divided into twelve conferences and 141 districts, but seldom, except in the West and in the years immediately preceding Union, were the boundaries of synods coterminous with those of conferences, or those of presbyteries coterminous with those of districts. The Congregationalists had still a third method of territorial division. Only in isolated instances where boundaries are established by a Higher Authority than any ecclesiastical court, for example, Prince Edward Island, are statistics truly comparable. Consequently, for case studies of a statistical character, one is more or less reduced to individual churches in urban centres.

In examining the psychology of the situations emerging before, during and after the Union controversy, the student must once again be satisfied too often with a minimum of fact and a maximum of theory. If anything is clear at all, it is the complexity of the motives which led some to vote for Union and others to vote against it, and after the lapse of seven years, no questionnaire and no test can fully make clear the dominant emotions that determined men's action at a given time. To probe into the past with scientific ruthlessness might only awaken sleeping dogs to fresh excitement, while a fair statement of present attitudes would prove little concerning the actuating motives of a decade ago. In the meantime, prejudices have been modified or intensified, and new reasons and rationalizations advanced for attitudes due often to fundamental differences of temperament at the best or to sheer prejudice at the worst. As in similar situations, men have indulged in wishful thinking, believing what they desired to believe and finding idealistic excuses for what was merely distasteful. A conversation with a United Church minister who was somewhat unhappy makes this very clear. He had voted for Union and believed in it but frankly he would be temperamentally happier in the Presbyterian Church, where procedures were more settled and where he might probably secure a more remunerative parish than he could within the United Church; but if he returned to the Presbyterian Church he would be looked upon as a traitor to the Union cause in which he thoroughly believed. So he felt himself called upon to resist temperament and stay in the United Church, in loyalty not only to principle but also to his earlier commitment.

It seemed impossible, therefore, and unwise, to distribute tests and count noses, and the only alternative was personal interviews and the reading of articles and letters in the religious and secular press before, during and since 1925. The majority of these interviews were recorded as quickly as possible and occasionally submitted to those interviewed for correction or modification. It is unnecessary to add that much of the information received was confidential or semi-confidential in character and could not be quoted; also some of this information was too often mere hearsay and required to be checked. Nevertheless, the total impressions from such interviews constitute an important and valuable background for the results and conclusions of the study.

More detailed case studies on the whole have been made in the eastern provinces than in the West and this for the rather obvious reason that the Union movement had in the East its greatest difficulties and defeats, whereas in some of the western provinces, as for example, Manitoba, it practically swept everything before it. While, therefore, it is necessary to discount possibly a certain emphasis in the report on difficulties created in the East and to magnify the successes acknowledged in the West, it is felt that the East may have more importance for the United States than the West. The density of population in the United States is much higher than in Canada as a whole, and a union movement in the States would perhaps be more likely to encounter the difficulties inherent in a settled culture such as is found in the eastern provinces than those belonging to the frontier civilization of the prairies from which the western states have largely emerged. Canada still has her frontier moving northward, but where is the frontier in the United States? Even if this thesis be not correct and if there be influences operating in the United States fundamentally more responsive to the appeal of church union and more vigorous in forcing the way than were found in eastern Canada, it is still wise to know well in advance the price that must be paid and the difficulties that must be solved.

PART ONE

BACKGROUNDS

CHAPTER I

Canadian Backgrounds

No one can understand the psychology of the Canadian people nor appreciate the peculiar problems implicit in the "churching" of Canada without an adequate conception of certain fundamental facts of a geographical, economic, historical and sociological character.

DENSITY OF POPULATION

In the first place, Canada has one of the largest areas, and at the same time one of the lowest densities of population, of any country in the world. Estimates of its area vary, thus:

Chief Geographer's estimate	3,729,665 sq. miles
Map measurement, used by Census returns	3,609,909 sq. miles

Newfoundland, which includes Labrador, though not an integral part of Canada, might well be added to these figures, especially for our purposes, since both Canada and Newfoundland are integral parts of the British Empire and also because The United Church of Canada has under its jurisdiction more than 84 pastoral charges, with 322 preaching stations, in Newfoundland. The area of Newfoundland and Labrador is variously estimated at from 162,734 to 275,134 square miles. Much of this uncertainty is due to the unexplored nature of the hinterland of Labrador and to the fact that the boundary between Canada and Labrador was in some dispute. One may estimate the combined area of Canada and Newfoundland, however, by adding the largest estimate of Canada to the lowest estimate of Newfoundland, and this gives us a total of 3,892,399 square miles.

Let us compare these figures with those of other large countries in the Western Hemisphere:

Canada and Newfoundland	3,892,399 sq. miles
United States and Alaska	3,617,673 sq. miles
Canada (lowest estimate)	3,609,909 sq. miles
United States	3,026,789 sq. miles
Brazil	3,275,510 sq. miles
Argentine	1,180,900 sq. miles

It will thus be seen that the area of the Dominion of Canada approximates, if it does not exceed, that of the United States and Alaska combined, while it exceeds the area of Brazil by over 300,000 square miles and is more than three times as large as Argentine, its greatest competitor in the production of wheat. Indeed, the only country in the world that, to any considerable degree, surpasses Canada in size is Siberia, with its 4,800,000 square miles.

If, however, Canada is vast in extent, its density of population is perhaps the lowest in the world. The census reports in 1931 give a density for the entire Dominion of 2.96 persons to the square mile, which is not only markedly different from the density of the old-world countries in Europe and Asia, but even much lower than that of other countries in the new world, thus:

Country	Density
United States	35.5
Uruguay	24.4
Mexico	18.8
Chile	15.4
Peru	10.5
Argentine	9.2
Canada	2.96

To be sure, these statistics make the Canadian problem appear even more serious than it really is, since the vast area covered by the Yukon and Northwest Territories contains 1,404,353 square miles but maintains a population of only 12,000. Eliminating this area entirely from our computation, the density of population in the remainder of the Dominion would still be only approximately 5.06 persons to the square mile. The density for the various provinces and territories, according to the censuses of 1911, 1921 and 1931, is as follows:

		Density	
Province	1911	1921	1931
Prince Edward Island	42.91	40.56	40.27
Nova Scotia	23.72	25.23	24.71
New Brunswick	12.71	14.00	14.73
Ontario	6.96	8.08	9.45
Quebec	3.51	4.14	5.04
Saskatchewan	2.07	3.17	3.37
Manitoba	2.05	2.71	3.11
Alberta	1.50	2.36	2.94
British Columbia	1.12	1.50	1.98
Canada, exclusive of Territories	3.51	4.29	5.06
Yukon Territory	0.04	0.02	0.02
Northwest Territories	0.01	0.01	0.01
Canada as a whole	2.05	2.50	2.96

The surprisingly low density of population in Ontario and Quebec, and to some extent in the prairie provinces, is due to the fact that in recent years the boundaries of these provinces have been greatly extended to include vast unexplored areas to the north, for whose development and exploitation the provinces have thus undertaken definite responsibility. Quebec received the territory of Ungava, and now prospectors and pulp manufacturers have located their mines and factories in an area unexplored ten years ago. In Ontario a new railroad has just been completed to James Bay, while some ten years ago the northern section of this area was penetrated horizontally by the Grand Trunk Pacific (now part of the Canadian National Railways System), which opened up an area containing more than 15,000,000 acres of hardwood land, presumably well-suited to agriculture. In Manitoba, well-known mines are being successfully worked at The Pas and Flin-Flon, while new gold mines have been discovered in the northeastern part of the province, and a railroad is now completed to Churchill on Hudson Bay. In Saskatchewan, owing to several successive crop failures in the southern municipalities, there has been a steady trek to the north, where the ground is equally fertile and the landscape less monotonous. In Alberta, settlers are steadily moving north into the Peace River District, heralded as a "land of Promise." Though the centre of the Peace River is approximately five hundred miles north of Edmonton, this district has, for several successive years, produced wheat which has won the "world's championship" at Chicago. The northern part of British Columbia has also been opened up by a new line of railroad. Of all the Canadian provinces, only Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island have boundaries definitely set by nature and incapable of further expansion.

Canada is thus a country with an ever-expanding frontier. Indeed, settlements are springing up far north of highways or railroads, for the aeroplane and the wireless have brought even the Arctic regions into constant touch with civilization. In 1914 one Hudson's Bay Company boat left the Pacific coast and passed through the Arctic archipelago to meet another ship proceeding from the Atlantic, leaving supplies at the various definite points of call. When the ship had left the mail and sailed away to its next port, the few inhabitants would be cut off from civilization for another twelve months. Because of this, the white men, traders and missionaries in Baffinland learned only in August, 1915, that the Great World War had broken out. Today, however, the government has established a series of wireless stations across the Arctic, and now the lonely patrols of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the missionaries and the vanguard of civilization are kept constantly in touch with what the world is doing. Aeroplanes are in operation and journeys which previously took weeks and months are now accomplished in hours or days. Thus Canada girds herself for the conquest of the North, and with the settlers goes the church. Indeed, in the Arctic circle the Anglican Church, in its mission to the Esquimaux, has outstripped civilization and written one of the most romantic pages in the history of Christian missions.

OCCUPATIONS AND VOCATIONS

During the last thirty years Canada has emerged as a nation no longer producing merely raw materials, but also well-equipped to manufacture for both home consumption and export. This increased industrial activity has been due in part to a moderate protective tariff and to the growth of population within the Dominion itself; but it has also been the result, especially since the War, of the establishment in Canada of American industries which sought not only to leap over tariff barriers but also to find a favorable location for the capture of much of the trade of the empire and the world in the economic struggle of tomorrow. British industries have also to a very considerable extent found it advisable to erect branches in Canada. In addition to this, favorable laws and rates of taxation have encouraged many British capitalists to secure charters from Canada for organizations designed to exploit the natural resources of other countries, e.g., Mexico, Brazil and Peru.

But with this great growth of industry and finance a large part of the population of Canada and the bulk of its native wealth are still to be found in agriculture, mining, lumbering (including the manufacture of pulpwood) and fishing. (See Table I.)

TABLE I—EMPLOYMENT IN FOUR OCCUPATIONS, CENSUS OF 1921

Occupation	Number	Per cent. of All Employed
Agriculture	1,041,618	32.8
Mining	51,063	1.6
Lumbering	39,815	1.3
Fishing	29,292	.9
Total	1,161,788	36.6

When, however, people engage so largely in agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing (and one might add trapping), it means that they must for the most part lead isolated lives and struggle with more or less frontier conditions. The opulence and wealth of cities like Montreal and Toronto have been built to no small extent upon the labors of gangs of men in mining and lumbering camps[1]; and while in the United States many of these centers are still quite near important towns or cities, in Canada the frontier is still a frontier. Two hundred miles north of the city of Toronto, one may travel for hours on fast trains through millions of acres of forest lands, without seeing the slightest sign of civilization except as one approaches a divisional center of the railroad, where, perhaps, a vagrant road points the way to a lumber or mining camp. Every province of the Dominion, with the exception of little Prince Edward Island, has its great lone land with its outposts of civilization.

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[1] See Fitzpatrick, *The University in Overalls* (Toronto: Frontier Press, 1923) and *The Bunkhouse Man* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928).

The rural population of the Dominion is still of fundamental importance, although Table II indicates that urbanization has made rapid progress.

TABLE II—RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION, FIVE CENSUS YEARS

	Percentage of Population	
Year	Rural*	Urban
1891	68.20	31.80
1901	62.50	37.50
1911	54.58	45.42
1921	50.48	49.52
1931	46.30	53.70

* For methods used in reckoning rural population, see chapter xi.

In spite of this urbanization, however, the fact that Canada is so far-flung, and that its total population is only 10,376,786 (1931) means that the number of large cities is comparatively limited. Only two large cities, Montreal and Toronto, have a population of more than half a million, the former with approximately 1,000,000 and the latter with 700,000 inhabitants. In the next group of cities, which includes Vancouver, Winnipeg and Hamilton, the range is from 150,000 to 250,000. For the rest, a few cities have approximately 50,000 to 75,000 or more inhabitants, but the majority of Canadian cities range from 10,000 to 50,000. This fundamental condition must remain for some time, and hence the majority of men who enter the church in Canada must expect to spend most of their lives in comparatively small places; and *a very large percentage of the churches remain and must continue to remain, in part at least, dependent upon aid from without.*

Administrative Problems of a Disparate Population

The problems arising from an immense area, a low density of population and an economic situation in which agriculture and lumbering amid frontier conditions so largely prevail, create great difficulties for those called upon to administer both Church and State. They account, in the first place, for the fact that there are only nine provinces in the Dominion compared with forty-eight states in the United States, and during the depression following 1929, it was seriously suggested by the Prime Minister of Manitoba that the three prairie provinces should be combined under one government in the interests of economy.[2]

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[2] Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta would between them have a land area of approximately 730,000 square miles and a population of two million.

The policing of these vast hinterlands is a staggering task, and led to the creation of the Northwest Mounted Police (now called the Royal Canadian Mounted Police), in 1873—an organization whose achievements and traditions are perhaps unparalleled.

The building of railroads throughout the Dominion in the face of a low density of population constitutes a most heroic effort and a romantic tale, and today Canada ranks second among all the countries of the world in railway mileage and has the smallest population per mile of her railways lines, namely 233. In 1928, there were 41,024 miles of railroad in Canada, and the building of these lines has forced her into a great experiment in national ownership. There are many who think that Canada is over-railroaded, and while this study was in progress a Commission was seeking ways and means of eliminating unnecessary overlapping and further economizing. Nevertheless, it is difficult to see how this vast territory could be opened up without so large an investment in railroads.

So, too, in the building of highways. It is not yet possible for a motorist to cross the continent from Halifax to Vancouver on an all-Canadian highway, although a section of several hundred miles through the wilds of New Ontario, now projected, will, when completed, link coast with coast. But there are in the Dominion 381,976 miles of roads, of which only approximately 8,000 are some form of macadam or concrete, 56,000 are gravel and the remaining 317,000 are earth, improved or unimproved. The building of new roads will probably continue for years as the frontier is steadily pushed back northward at a rate of possibly fifty to one hundred miles a year across the entire continent.

Even the opening of new ports on Hudson Bay means an additional problem in the location of lighthouses and the further guarding of a coastline that touches the three great oceans—Atlantic, Pacific and Arctic.

The maintenance of schools in these distant and sparsely settled areas has taxed not only the resources but also the ingenuity of the provincial administrations. In British Columbia, if settlers can show that at any given point, no matter how remote, six children of school age are willing to attend school, the province will provide forthwith an initial grant of $150 for accommodations and will send at its own expense a teacher. In Ontario, the government has had recourse to school-cars. A railroad coach is equipped with desks and a teacher, and this is sent to some out-of-the-way point where it is placed on a siding. Children are gathered together and given instruction for a few days; homework is assigned, and then the car goes on to a new point, with the understanding that it is to return in a stated time when the work of the children will be reviewed and the same procedure repeated. Some of the provinces have developed correspondence schools for various classes of children not adequately provided with school facilities, and also for adults. The Province of Saskatchewan thus provided special instruction for 484 pupils in 1930.

The existence of such a moving frontier offers serious problems to the Church as it does to the State. The pioneer can not expect cathedrals; he must be satisfied with a glorified packing-box for a church, and he is fortunate to get that; for in many pastoral charges, especially in the West, there are few, if any, church buildings, and most of the services are conducted in the one-roomed schoolhouses provided by the government. If one could only foresee where a permanent community would arise, an investment in church buildings and equipment would be safer. But when the lumber is cut down, or a mine exhausted, a village may be abandoned and only the shell remains. Even in the agricultural districts on the frontier, the coming of the railway may entirely deflect the community centre, and the church must be moved bodily to the new village. A church, to keep up with this situation must depend less on equipment and more on personnel, and must develop a ministry capable of carrying on its work over a vast area and satisfied to hold services at many preaching points, where perhaps, at the best, not more than a handful of people may constitute the congregation. A minister on such fields can do little but conduct services, visit the people, bury the dead and devote some attention, when possible, to a Sunday school. The minister can attempt little institutional work. Indeed he is more often a liaison officer between civilization and the frontier than a community builder, and while most of the men who enter the ministry of The United Church of Canada—and other Canadian churches as well—are all but required to become "riders of the plains" during some of the long summer vacations while they are attending the seminaries, and while the minimum salary of the ministry is $1,800.00 and manse for a married man, few of them would look with resignation upon a pastorate devoted exclusively to the frontier.

The churches of Canada have found it difficult to man the field. In the Church of England, a good many recruits are found in England and after some inadequate training are sent to lonely places where perhaps a thorough acquaintance with patristic literature is not necessarily a prerequisite. Its General Board of Religious Education conducts correspondence courses for children where it is impossible to hold Sunday schools and has enrolled more than 30,000 children in such courses. In some districts, where highways are passable despite the sparse population, the church army operates vans which move from center to center, bringing a ministry both educational and religious.[3] There are clergymen in the Church of England who cover an immense territory, and until recently and in many cases even now, must cover their parishes in canoes. The United Church operates five large motor launches on the Pacific Coast, which follow a regular schedule, making stated points of call all the way from Vancouver to Portland Channel, and even going at times two hundred miles off the regular course to bring a word of cheer to some lonely lighthouse-keeper. A similar marine ministry is furnished both by The United Church and by the Church of England along the western and northwestern shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

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[3] The continuing Presbyterian Church also operates a van for similar purposes in Saskatchewan.

Climate

Again, the climate of Canada not only affects the national character but also renders more difficult the settlement of the country and the maintenance of social life and institutions, especially in the rural areas. Ever since Kipling referred to the Dominion as "Our Lady of the Snows," Canadians have been sensitive to exaggerated descriptions of their climate. Generally speaking, there would not seem to be much difference between the climate of that part of Canada which boasts of any considerable population and that of the northern states; if the winters are a trifle colder, the summers have proved unusually attractive to throngs of American tourists. In the far North (i.e., Yukon), to be sure, the ground is permanently frozen a few inches below the surface, and, because of this, profitable mining must wait upon the discovery of cheaper methods of operation. But even in New Ontario, Quebec and the prairie provinces, "the mean temperature in the winter months is mean enough," as an outstanding churchman in Saskatchewan put it, and snow and frost make havoc with roads which are, for the most part, dirt, or at the best, only slightly gravelled. Only the main highways can be kept clear, and because of this, many of the settlers are almost compelled to hibernate. In many western settlements school is "in" during the summer and "out" during the winter, and although the consolidated school is favored by the government, the condition of the highways has been such that in certain instances the cost of transportation for the children has exceeded the cost of tuition.

Ministers of religion in these areas are usually forced to put up their "Fords" for several months and reach their Sunday appointments only by hiring a horse and cutter.[4] Since they are unable to cover so much ground, it is necessary to reduce the number of preaching appointments during the winter, and consequently at a number of places, services are held only during the summer. (There is one point in the Parry Sound region in Ontario where a lay preacher of the United Church covers his field on snow-shoes.) For many years all the major denominations have created special summer fields and manned them with theological students who are expected in this way to learn something about fundamental conditions on the frontier, save some money out of the $15 a week and expenses towards the next year's outlay, and secure some practical experience in the Christian ministry. While this is excellent training for the men, it is a makeshift at the best, since too often the work has to be started afresh the following summer, and in the intervening winter the people must learn how to get along without any religious ministration—a lesson perhaps too easily learnt in these days. When churches confronted such problems as these, the duplication of effort seemed all the more unjustifiable.

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[4] It must be obvious that few ministers on the minimum salary can afford to maintain both an automobile and a horse with equipment.

Duality of Races and Bilingualism

Another important fact to remember relates to the French settlement of Canada. When Quebec fell in 1759 and Montreal surrendered somewhat later, the terms of capitulation for the two cities included the right of the colonists to freedom of worship according to the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman traditions. Articles 25–37 of the Capitulation of Montreal in 1760 sought to secure such privileges, which were, for the most part, granted, except the provision that future bishops of Quebec would be nominated by His Most Christian Majesty, the King of France (this was refused), and another condition calling for the continuation and privileges of communities of Jesuits and Recollects. An effort was made at the same time to secure the future prevalence of French law even under British control, Article 42 requesting that "the French and Canadians shall continue to be governed according to the custom of Paris and the laws and usages established for this country." To this, the British military forces replied, "They become subjects of the King."

Although few special privileges were promised by the capitulation, nevertheless the problem of governing Canada and holding the loyalty of the French subjects ceded by King Louis under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, 1763, was far from simple; but by 1774 the French were guaranteed, in the Quebec Act, very definite privileges in respect of the practice of religion and civil law. These privileges were highly resented by the American colonists and were included in the list of tyrannies perpetrated by King George III in the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and in the Resolutions of the First Continental Congress in 1774.[5] The result of these provisions, however, was to pacify the French and to avoid any effort at rebellion on their part during the strenuous days of the American Revolution. Nevertheless, it did retard the essential unity of the Dominion even to the present and created in Canada, especially as the French Canadians became a minority and not a majority, a political solidarity among the French which was looked upon with grave suspicion and concern, and sometimes with resentment, by the English-speaking, Protestant section. On the social and political side, this division between the French Canadians, almost entirely Roman Catholic, and the English-speaking Canadians, dominantly Protestant, produced a situation which is reflected in almost every important constitutional document relating to Canada, and which never fails to invite trouble whenever a new province is carved out of the territories and the right of the province to control its own educational institutions is determined by law. The strongly Roman Catholic character of the first population of Canada has had not a little to do with consolidating Protestantism in defence of certain liberties and against what seemed to be dangerous departures in politics; and the same factor—however little mentioned at the heights of the controversy—may have operated in the efforts at church union. Certainly, it is this fact which has been responsible for the strength of the Orange order in Canada, particularly in Ontario, where politicians cannot with impunity ignore the strength of this fraternal body. Indeed, as shall be pointed out later, the only vitality of the Evangelical Alliance in Canada is seen as it periodically girds up its loins when the Catholic issue is to the front—at the time of the Jesuit Estates Act in 1889, of the Manitoba School Question in the 'nineties, of the issue of the famous *Ne Temere* decree by His Holiness in 1908 dealing with Christian marriage, and of certain difficulties with the Jesuits in the city of Guelph during the Great War.[6]

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[5] "Also the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic religion, in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law and government) of the neighboring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France."

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[6] J. C. Bracq, in *The Evolution of French Canada* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924), says: "Dr. W. A. Riddell, Superintendent of Trades and Labour, Department of Public Works, of the Ontario Government, in his suggestive book, *The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control of Quebec,* written from a sociological point of view, ascribes the great French-Canadian ecclesiastical power to demographic factors, creating race homogeneity in the population and also social and moral solidarity. This was helped by the predominance of agriculture, by the unity of language, by the isolated parish life, by uniform sources of subsistence, by the abundant resources of the Church, by the exclusion of Protestants, by the transfer of control from Gallican France to Ultramontane Rome, by the attempt of the Church of England to be the state church, by English Protestant schools, and by the refusal of Great Britain to admit the clergy of France to the country, thereby cutting the last ties of Gallicanism. He does not mention, by the side of this, the social structure imported from France, a structure in which there was already a potential, nay, an effective ecclesiastical control, the influence of the intolerant action of early British settlers, who urged that French Catholics be subjected to the *Test Act,* or 'oath of supremacy,' the interference of the authorities with the rights of Catholics, the introduction of English law, the ostracism by many of everything that was French, the violent spirit of Orangemen as well as that of other extreme Protestants, or the exclusion of Catholic natives from civil positions to which they were entitled. Above all, he forgets the personal attraction of the clergy, the popular feeling that 'a priest,' to use Henry Perryve's words, 'is a man, created and put into the world for others' and that his office is divine. His book is a very important contribution to the religious study of French Canada."

Another effect of the granting of these privileges, has resulted in bilingualism, since Canada is the only country in the New World to recognize by law two official languages. In 1921 French was spoken by 1,997,074 persons of ten years of age and over, which represents 29.89 per cent. of the total population of these ages, and of these 877,514, or 13 per cent. of the total population of ten years of age and over, spoke only French. These facts must be remembered since newspapers, magazines and books published in English have consequently a smaller reading clientèle than the total population of the country would suggest; and the difference in language becomes a barrier to spiritual understanding and sympathy, especially since the number of English-speaking Canadians who are willing to become proficient in French is pitifully small. Hence, there has arisen in most of the provinces a good deal of bitterness in the educational sphere between those who wish instruction to be offered in two languages and those who insist on the use of English alone, a bitterness accentuated by religious differences and increased as Canada faced the difficult problem of assimilating hundreds of thousands of immigrants whose mother-tongue was neither English nor French. This is a factor of considerable magnitude which the people of the United States have never had to face.

Nor must it be lightly thought that French Canada is entirely concentrated in Quebec. There are large numbers of French Canadians in the northern part of New Brunswick; in many counties of Nova Scotia, especially Digby and Inverness; in Prince Edward Island; in Ontario along the Quebec boundary line and especially in New Ontario; in Manitoba, and in Saskatchewan. Indeed, it is generally known that the famous county of Glengarry, well-known through Ralph Connor's stories and formerly a settlement of Scottish Highlanders, is now largely French.

THE BRITISH CONNECTION

At the time of the cession of Quebec, the sphere of British control in what is now the Dominion of Canada was all but negligible. By the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, all Nova Scotia or Acadia, "with its ancient boundaries" was ceded to England, but these boundaries were ill-defined and settlement was discouraged until about 1749—

> ". . . as a result no Protestant settlement in Nova Scotia was actually begun throughout all this period, with a possible exception of a life-saving station on Sable Island. The Protestant and English-speaking residents in Nova Scotia at the time of the arrival of Cornwallis, in 1749, were confined to the families of officers and soldiers at Annapolis and of the few New England merchants there and to a summer colony of New England fishermen at Canso. Thus for thirty

years of the period when colonists from Europe were beginning to flock in large numbers to America, none came to Nova Scotia."[7]

In 1749, however, a definite scheme "for settling several thousand Protestant subjects" in Nova Scotia was initiated under the direction of Lord Halifax, Chairman of the British Board of Trade, and carried out by Lord Cornwallis. At the end of four years approximately five thousand people constituted the population of Halifax, and these were divided among five groups: (1) The original immigrants who came in the transports of Cornwallis. (2) Soldiers and sailors. (3) Settlers and merchants from New England. (4) Foreign Protestants, mostly German. (5) The Acadian French.

The largest of these groups was the New Englanders and from this time until the War of the American Revolution a number of New England families removed to the Maritime provinces, a tendency which was accelerated after the fall of Canada in 1759.

After the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, a number of the New England colonists found their way not only to the Maritimes but also to Montreal; and in addition the British population was increased not only by settlements of Highlanders but also by the immigration of many officers and men of the army to whom were given grants of land. The population, however, grew but slowly until the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War, when approximately 60,000 Loyalists who preferred to remain under British rule left the newly constituted Republic to the south and found their way to new land, mostly in Nova Scotia and in what is now called Ontario. This addition to the population, being largely Protestant, would have done much to overcome the Catholic majority in Canada had the country been a political unit; but the political unification of Ontario and Quebec was not effected until 1840, while the Confederacy of the Dominion was not accomplished until 1867. It must be remembered that the first extensive British settlement of Canada was made by those whose loyalty to British institutions necessitated the sacrifice of property and friendships secured in the thirteen colonies. No group of British citizens in any part of the world has perhaps paid a greater price for their citizenship, and this made their British connection all the more precious to them. Perhaps to this fact is due, in part at least, the anomaly that English-speaking Canadians are often more British than the British themselves.

Not a few of these early settlers from the United States were German and came from Pennsylvania. The reason for their migration seems to have been a fear that the newly-formed Republic would be less considerate of some of their peculiar religious scruples than the British government had been. Consequently, Mennonites and Lutherans became pioneers in many counties of Ontario, notably Welland, Waterloo and York.

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[7] Ian F. Mackinnon, *Settlements and Churches in Nova Scotia 1749–1776* (Montreal: The Walker Press, 1930).

From the close of the American Revolutionary War until approximately 1900 the population ratio of English-speaking to French-speaking Canadians increased steadily. While the increase among the French-Canadians was almost entirely the result of natural growth, that of the English-speaking group was due not only to nature, but even more to extensive immigration. While England itself contributed the majority of the settlers, the "quotas" from Scotland and Ireland have been not only large but unusually influential. The first Scottish immigrants settling in Prince Edward Island, certain districts of Nova Scotia and Glengarry County, Ontario, were partly Protestant and partly Roman Catholic, and in these areas today there are all but solid blocs of Scottish Catholics who seem to provide more than their share of archbishops and bishops in the Dominion. The average American traveller sees with surprise on the facade of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Ninian at Antigonish, N. S., the Gaelic inscription: "Tigh dhe" (House of God). This racial bond proved strong during the Church Union controversy in developing a sympathy on the part of the Scottish Catholics for those who stressed the Scottish tradition in their desire to prevent the merging of Presbyterianism in The United Church of Canada, and anti-unionists occasionally appealed to the ancient ties between Scotland and France in the days of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Bonnie Prince Charlie, to win over the sympathies of the French Catholics.[8]

The Irish came to Canada in large numbers at the time of similar emigrations to the United States in the 'forties, but while possibly the larger percentage of Irish immigration to the United States was from the south of Ireland and consequently Roman Catholic, the emigration to Canada was more mixed, if not dominantly from the North of Ireland. The result is that while there are many Irish Catholic families in Canada, the more dominant Irish group is Protestant, and to this is due in part the fact that Toronto has the reputation of being a greater center of "Orangeism" than Belfast.

When Americans discover in Canada outstanding positions in the Catholic Church in the hands of Scots, and Irishmen enthusiastic Protestants but highly proud of their Irish connection, they rub their eyes.

A hundred years ago, a great many of the immigrants to Canada from the United Kingdom were of peasant stock who had been forced out by the untoward economic conditions following the Napoleonic wars. Among them, however, were people of gentle families, including not a few officers and men of the army who saw in the New World the possibility of recouping or enlarging their fortunes, and who chose Canada in preference to the United States because they wished to remain under the British flag, or because the British government offered them exceptional concessions of land. From the north of Ireland came many families who had wearied of the internecine warfare and brigandage based on religious and economic animosities. So, too, from Scotland came many crofters, finding themselves evicted and landless, and unable to adjust themselves to the new economic conditions in that country. These, together with the United Empire Loyalists, were to tame the Canadian wilderness and their children to become the dominant force in the Canada of today. As the United Kingdom became more highly industrialized, fewer peasants migrated to Canada and in recent years the arrival of town and city folk has not been an unmixed blessing.

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[8] See the address of Donald M. Rowat before the Quebec Legislature, Feb. 19, 1926, as reported in *L'Evenement.*

The early British immigrants were, however, for a long time widely scattered and separated from each other by the wedge of Quebec, where resided an almost solid bloc of French-Canadian Roman Catholics, tenacious of their culture and fearful of assimilation with the increasing British. Both the French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians sensed a peril in the strength of the other, but when the French Revolution had destroyed not only the monarchy, but also weakened the church in France, the French Canadians were thrown back upon themselves, while the British Canadians, often living lonely lives on wild frontiers or in the heart of the almost primeval forest, could not forget what they had left behind across the ocean, and even the first and second generation of the Canadian-born captured the accents of their parents and grandparents and referred to the motherland as "home."

The main motif of British immigration to Canada was economic or, in the case of the Loyalists, political, and not, as was the case of the Puritan migration to the United States, religious—"freedom to worship God." Hence Canadian character is rooted more in tradition and American character more in idealism. For this reason, too, Canadians tend to be more conservative than Americans, more cautious in their espousal of new causes, more ready to deal with situations than with theories, and, above all, ever responsive to the lessons learned in the pages of British history. The larger Canadian Protestant churches, therefore, in spite of their close American affiliations, have always looked to the United Kingdom for their outstanding preachers and religious leaders, and only recently have begun to appreciate the advantages of a Canadian-born ministry. In Presbyterian pulpits, a Scotch accent has always been an asset in one who was preaching for a call, and the director of this study has been amused to note, even in some Canadian-born ministers of the second generation, a sudden reversion to a slight Scotch accent during the "long prayer." Again, at the meetings of the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada, in 1931, a National Commission introduced a recommendation to change the somewhat anomalous name "The Church of England in Canada" to "The Anglican Church in Canada"; but this recommendation went before the house in the very week when Britain went off the gold standard, and the delegates, carried away with sentiment, voted down the recommendation, earnestly protesting that in this hour of Britain's need they must do nothing, however trivial, which might seem to indicate the slightest desire to loosen the nexus with the motherland.

One result of this cult of Oxford and Edinburgh, England and Scotland, has been to drive not a few of the ablest Canadian preachers to the United States, and this has been particularly true of the smaller denominations. Thus, from 1864 to 1925, the Canadian Congregational College at Montreal graduated some 187 men. Of these, 117 were living when church union was consummated. Ten of these had disappeared entirely and their whereabouts were unknown. Of the remaining 107, 55 only were resident in Canada, while 41 were residents of the United States!

This British emphasis was, as will be shown later, all the stronger because of the relative geographical position of Canada to the United States —the "Colossus of the South"; and numerous forces operated in the country to deepen the respect for British tradition and thus offset the obvious perils of "Americanization." In short, the British Canadian found himself confronted with the dilemma of falling into the hands either of the priests in French Canada or of the astute business men in the United States. In this dilemma he eventually decided to be himself, and found in his British citizenship the compensation for his difficult situation, not realizing, perhaps, to any large degree that in doing this he was building up a distinctive Canadian nationality. This new nationalism is reflected in certain emphases of The United Church of Canada, while it is not without significance that those who preferred to remain Presbyterian and did not concur in the Union, urged the Scottish and Irish traditions.

AMERICAN INFLUENCE

Canada's reaction to the growing economic and political power of the United States has profoundly influenced her psychological growth. The usual banquet orations concerning the four thousand miles of unguarded frontier and the more than one hundred and fifteen years of peace, together with an extraordinary sympathy and interchange of citizenry between American and Canadian peoples, blind one who is not a careful student to marked differences of outlook between the Canadian and the American.

In more than one way the United States has attracted the average Canadian to such a degree that in the census of 1910 there were approximately one and a half million people in the United States who gave Canada as the land of their birth. At this time the total population of Canada was only approximately seven million, and during the previous decade Canada had received 1,244,000 immigrants. It may, therefore, be estimated that in 1910 of all persons born in Canada, one in five was resident in the United States. On the other hand, immigration from the United States to Canada was greatly increased after 1900, until at the present time there is as much movement into Canada from the United States as into the United States from Canada.

So, too, it was only natural that Canada should in its development learn much from the experience of the United States. This has been well summarized by a Canadian economist in an article written in 1914:

> "From the United States, Canada derived its later land system, the methods of surveying, the homestead policy, the land grants to railways, the activities of the land company and the subdivision expert. The cheese factory and creamery and the fall fair have been borrowed and bettered. Later came the steam plough, the gasoline tractor, the elevator and the manipulation of elevator grades. The railroads, from gauge, rolling stock and organization to construction company methods and political influence, show the power of American example, equally with the decimal currency, the system of commercial accounts and the patent law. Machinery and methods in factory and shop show close connexion. Organized labour and employers' associations, mergers and methods of high finance, reveal the same influence. The early waste of the United States warned, its late repentance stimulated Canada to adopt the policy of conserving natural resources. . . . We imported the parcel post via the United States. For over thirty years it had been an established and successful feature in the British postal system; ultra-imperialists as we are, we made no slightest move to adopt it. The experience of Switzerland or Australia with the referendum awakened few echoes here, but once Oregon had adopted it Alberta followed suit, and Saskatchewan gave its people the option of so doing. Rural coöperative credit has been a commonplace in Europe for generations, and in Ireland for over fifteen years, but it was not until the United States had sent a commission abroad that the Saskatchewan government introduced its Bill on the subject. . . . Then we thank God that we are not as these Republicans and sinners."[9]

In much the same way has the United States profoundly influenced the religious development of Canada.

In spite of such sympathies and emulations, however, the Canadian, from the very beginning, has watched the American out of the tail of his eye. After the War of the American Revolution the British authorities did all in their power to retard the contamination of "republicanism" from reaching Canada. The United Empire Loyalists brought with them the memory of their sufferings at the hands of the "rebels," and soon after their arrival in their new home were called upon to defend these frontier cabins against American soldiers in the war of 1812–15. Until 1830, the larger number of the English-speaking population of the province of Quebec were Americans, of whom there was a wealthy colony in Montreal. These people believed that the "manifest destiny" of Canada was in union with the United States, and when some French Canadians under Papineau initiated a movement for a French-Canadian republic, they supported him, knowing that such an independent republic was doomed to fail.[10] Tension thus developed between the imperialists and the annexationists, and for some time the future of Canada was uncertain. Outstanding scholars like Goldwin Smith came out frankly for annexation, and in this they were abetted by some British statesmen, who felt that it would be more profitable to let Canada go than to hold it. No less a man than Gladstone himself wrote Goldwin Smith during the Civil War in the United States that "if the South were separated from the North, he would willingly see Canada annexed to the North."[11]

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[9] Professor O. D. Skelton, in *The University Magazine*, February, 1914.

These movements within the bosom of Canadian life naturally produced their own antitoxins. Those who believed in the maintenance of the British ties were reinforced by the indiscretions of American publicists from Henry Clay to William Howard Taft, by the unfavorable results of numerous arbitrations in which Canadians believed that their just claims were sacrificed by British arbitrators in the interests of British-American friendship, and, in more recent years, by the "we won the war" slogan of some ultra-enthusiastic Americans and the increased tariffs which followed the War. Today the controversy is practically over, and the penetration of the United States into Canada largely takes the form of capital investments; but within the last few years the publishers of the "Today and Tomorrow" series found it necessary to include two books on "The Future of Canada," one of which, *Columbia,* prophesied the complete absorption of the Dominion in the Republic, while the other, *Achates,* maintained that Canada would still remain one of the bright stars in the constellation of the Empire.

This inner struggle, fundamental for an appreciation of the psychology of the Canadian, is responsible, in no small measure, for the rise of Canadian nationalism, which is, in some respects, *sui generis,* and was no inconsiderable factor in the ultimate creation of the idea of The United Church of Canada. It has been a feature of the historical development of the three denominations which came together to form the United Church, as the following illustrations will indicate.

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[10] Robert Sellar, *The Tragedy of Quebec* (Huntington, P. Q.: The Gleaner Press, 1907), pp. 73, sqq.

[11] Goldwin Smith, *Reminiscences* (Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1910), p. 194.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS: At the time of the Revolutionary War, the Protestant population of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was dominantly Congregational, since the bulk of the population had come from New England. During that war, however, the sympathies of the Congregationalists were with the rebels and "Congregationalist settlements were the scene of demonstrations in favor of the revolting colonies."[12] While the records are not wholly clear, it is probable that all the Congregational clergy, except perhaps two, left the province at the commencement of the war, and "none was known to have had any sympathies with the British government." After the coming of the United Empire Loyalists, many of whom must have been originally Congregational, the British government discouraged the extending of calls to New England ministers, and thus the churches were required to seek their pastors in England and Scotland, with the result that by 1800 all the Congregational churches in the Maritime provinces but four had disappeared, and, for the most part, been superseded by Presbyterianism.[13]

THE METHODISTS: At the conclusion of the war of 1821, the Methodist work in the Canadas was largely directed from the United States and was part of the Methodist Episcopal Church of that country. Consequently, the Methodists were attacked as unpatriotic and disloyal, and their earliest apologists were required to devote no little time to a refutation of this charge. Eventually, Methodism split, the smaller part constituting itself a Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, while the larger part became affiliated with the Wesleyan churches of the United Kingdom. In spite of the fact that the Methodists boasted that not a single Methodist had been identified with the revolutionary movement of 1837 in favor of responsible government, the calumny of disloyalty took a long time to die, and vestiges may have survived in deeply-rooted prejudices and prevented, on the part of some, a willingness to unite with "Methodists."

THE PRESBYTERIANS: In 1820, a controversy arose in a Presbyterian church in Montreal connected with the burgher synod of Scotland. A large number of the membership of the church were Americans, and a considerable amount of the money used in building the church had been collected in the United States; the remainder were Scots. The time had come to call a new minister. The Scots proposed to get a minister from Scotland; the Americans insisted on getting one from the United States. The Scottish element prevailed, and the Americans withdrew, forming, in 1823, the American Presbyterian Church, which became affiliated with the New York

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[12] Ian F. Mackinnon, *Settlements and Churches in Nova Scotia, 1749–1776.* A revolt was staged at Maugerville.

[13] A defection to the Baptists, which will be described in another chapter, accounted also in part for this dénouement.

Presbytery and formed no Canadian affiliation whatever until 1925, when by a separate vote it entered The United Church of Canada.

Similar situations developed in the Baptist churches; at times there was a marked hostility between English Baptists (open communionists) along the St. Lawrence and American Baptists (close communionists) along the southern and western shores of Lake Ontario, which long retarded inner unity. Even today, many of the smaller denominations in Canada are affiliated with churches in the United States, and it is undeniable that this fact has been, in part at least, responsible for their hesitation to unite with other Canadian churches, and also for their inability to make any great impression on Canadians outside of their own little circle.

Slowly but surely, the Canadian mind sought freedom from entangling controls in religion, whether they emanated from the motherland or from the United States. Canada has sought to pay her own way, grow her own leadership, produce her own religious literature. Only the Church of England in Canada receives today considerable subsidies from England for her work, and these subsidies are being steadily reduced to the vanishing point. In the Anglican episcopate and in the ranks of the clergy of the United Church, a Canadian-born ministry has emerged able to compete with the best, although some outstanding professors in the theological seminaries, a few prominent preachers and certain scholarly bishops are of English or Scottish birth. Sunday-school papers are now published in Canada and the Canadian Sunday-school "scholar" is no longer required to digest in the months of February and July special editions extolling "the father of our country" and "the birthday of the great republic," nor read of the first Thanksgiving Day in Massachusetts more than a month after the Canadian celebration has passed, nor—*horribile dictu*—learn of some great heroism in the war of 1917–18! He must now depend upon the vagrant ether waves to bring him, as he listens to the radio, the panegyrics of "We, the people of the United States. . . ."

Subtle factors these, but of such is in part born The United Church of Canada.

The Coming of the Non-Anglo-Saxon

In 1885 the Canadian financiers, backed by the Canadian government, were able to complete the building of a transcontinental railway, the Canadian Pacific. The building of this railway constitutes one of the greatest romances in the history of the settlement of the New World, running as it did for nearly four thousand miles through an area almost entirely devoid of population. The result was to throw open lands for settlement; but the response at first was very weak.

Among the first non-Anglo-Saxons to find their way into this new land were Icelanders who settled round the shores of Lake Winnipeg, and have since become a small but influential group in Manitoba. Not until Sir Wilfrid Laurier became Prime Minister and selected a young westerner named Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior, was an aggressive policy of immigration undertaken. Then, between July 1, 1900, and March 31, 1909, a total of 1,244,597 immigrants were admitted to the Dominion. During the same period the total immigration to the United States was 7,753,816. As Senator Dillingham pointed out in his report on "The Immigration Situation in Canada" to the Sixty-first Congress, ". . . the number of immigrants admitted during the period referred to being equal to 26.1 per cent. of the Dominion's population in 1901, while the number entering the United States during the fiscal years 1900–1909 equalled 10.2 per cent. of the population in the latter country in 1900." Table III indicates the sources of this immigration into Canada.

TABLE III—SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION, 1900-1909

Country	Number	Per cent.
United Kingdom	377,801	30.4
United States	393,908	31.6
All others	472,888	38.0
Total	1,244,597	100.0

It is seen, therefore, that in this decade Canada was confronted with a task of assimilation two and one half times as great as that confronting the American people. Of course this task was reduced by the nature of the immigration itself, since 69 per cent. came from either British or American sources, and was composed of people presumably familiar with the English language. Moreover, the bulk of these newcomers went to the prairie provinces, there to engage in farming instead of being huddled together in the slums of the cities. But the Canadian problem was complicated in some measure by the fact that the original population of Canada in 1900 was approximately 40 per cent. French, and, in cities like Montreal and Toronto, the Jew was beginning to appear in large numbers, while on the western frontier "the stalwart peasant in the sheepskin coat" (a famous phrase of Sir Clifford Sifton's) arrived from Galicia to be the nucleus of the Ukrainian Canadian bloc of today, now numbering between 200,000 and 300,000 people. The percentage, therefore, of people of British race in Canada declined from 57.03 per cent. of the total population in 1901 to 54.08 per cent. in 1911, while the people of other European races, including the French, increased from 39.21 per cent. to 41.33 per cent.[14] Canada at the turn of the century was thus being confronted with a new racial problem quite different from that with which it was already familiar, and which thrust upon the Protestant churches, in their efforts to hold the West, new problems which have not yet been satisfactorily solved.

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[14] According to the 1931 census, persons of British origin now constitute only 51.86 per cent. of the entire population and persons of French origin only 28.22 per cent.

CONCLUSIONS

The appreciation of these outstanding factors in Canadian life will enable the reader to judge for himself in what respects the Canadian problem resembled, and in what respects it differed from, situations in other countries.

Certain likenesses and differences between Canada and the United States are obvious. In general, the Department of the Census is perhaps justified in its assertion when it states: "Roughly speaking, Canadian progress in the twentieth century is duplicating that of the United States in the nineteenth."[15]

Main differences, however, reside in such facts as these: First, Canada has no significant Negro problem, while the United States has nothing quite similar to Canada's French-Canadian bloc; secondly, Canada was conceived in tradition and the United States in idealism; thirdly, the settlement of Canada is accompanied, on the whole, with far greater difficulties than was that of the United States, for many reasons, notably its more northerly location and its climate; fourthly, Canada had at the outset an almost solid Roman Catholic population, and Protestantism grew by immigration, while the United States had at the outset an almost solid Protestant population, and Roman Catholicism grew by immigration.

Fundamental differences between Canada and the United Kingdom are excellently set forth in the messages of greeting sent to the newly-formed Methodist Church, Canada, by the British Wesleyan Conference in 1886 and in 1890:

> "In a country like yours, free from the extremes of society, and lacking the varieties of social condition which are found in our own land; a country also where the people are scattered over a vast territory, and nowhere aggregated in such multitudes as to allow of the very large and varied development of church life and activity among separate Churches having a general family likeness in doctrine and discipline; we cannot wonder that the ministers and laymen of the different denominations in Canada could no longer recognize, as your Address expresses it, any 'justifiable ground for separation and rivalry.' You have no very large number of persons lifted by their position out of easy fellowship with the masses of the people on the one hand, and no very large degraded class on the other, but a population, to a great extent, homogeneous and largely on the level." (1886.)

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[15] Report on the *Sixth Census of Canada* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1923), Vol. 1, p. xxviii.

"The problems that perplex you, and the tasks that engross your energies are, in many features, different from those with which we are called to grapple. While we study how to deal with huge populations gathered in small areas, you are confronted by the problems of vast areas sparsely peopled. While we, in our agricultural districts, are often dismayed by the removal of our people and the reduction of our resources, you are in more danger of being overwhelmed by rapidly multiplying demands upon your resources, and a growth of your opportunities outrunning the increase of your means. . . . Our attention and energy have of recent years been strenuously applied to home missionary enterprises; and by free resort to new agencies, and fresh strength given to those already existing, we have striven to cope with the evils resulting from disorganized social conditions, and a national life in many ways unnatural and unhealthy." (1890.)

The passing of time may have modified the truth of these comparisons since they were first written, but the facts remain, in essence, as stated. It is needless to add, consequently, that what is tolerable in one country may become intolerable in another, and what works in one country may prove a dismal failure in another. These facts must constantly be borne in mind as one strives to learn the lessons which the Canadian experiment in church union has to teach.

CHAPTER II

Origins and Consolidations of Protestant Denominations in Canada

During the campaign for Church Union in Canada, the Unionists issued a propagandist pamphlet prepared by the Very Rev. William T. Gunn, D.D., later the third Moderator of the United Church, entitled "Uniting Three United Churches," the thesis of which was that the contemplated movement was not an "isolated event" but simply the logical sequence of the prevailing tendency within the Canadian churches. He wrote:

> "From the very first days of British occupation, the foundations of our Protestant churches have been laid in Church Union. Our forefathers found themselves drawn together by the spiritual needs of the scattered settlements, by the intermingling of members of different churches in each small settlement and also by the fact that the grounds of difference which existed between them in the old lands were not present in the new."

This pamphlet went on to trace the series of church unions which antedated the movement of 1902–1925 and included a chart reproduced in the Appendix, which set forth that the Presbyterian Church in Canada was in itself the result of nine different unions; that the Methodist Church was the result of eight different unions; that the Congregational Church was the result of four different unions. Analyzing these unions, Dr. Gunn maintained that these three churches, as then constituted, included nineteen unions and more than forty different bodies.[1]

The Emphasis on History

This pamphlet had a very large influence since too many of the controversialists on both sides had an inadequate knowledge of the history of the religious development of Canada itself and were disposed to argue the question in a purely theoretical way and with no adequate appreciation of the historical forces which had operated to bring the three churches where they were. Indeed, if there be any lesson which emerges in an extensive study of a movement for church union such as is found in Canada, it is this: *Such movements ought to be grounded in the fullest possible knowledge, not alone of the historical facts regarding the origin and development of the religious groups in the area under consideration, but also in a deep appre-*

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[1] Certain of these unions were purely territorial.

ciation of the philosophical significance of these facts. The divisions of Christendom have been created in large measure by historical forces, and if they are to be healed at all, they must first be appreciated in their historical setting.

Especially for this present study, it is important to understand the history of the major Protestant denominations and communions in Canada, since the story of their effort to effect their own inner consolidations throws no little light on the *raison d'être* of that larger union which was consummated on June 10, 1925, makes more explicit the fundamental conditions in Canadian life with which the churches were forced to cope, and indicates marked parallelisms between the political confederation of the country and its ecclesiastical consolidation.

One obvious effect of the consummation of union in Canada has been the stimulation of historical research. In the winding-up of the affairs of presbyteries, districts, conferences, general assemblies, associations, unions, societies and boards of one kind or another, even of individual churches when merged with others, the question of the gathering and disposition of archives became important, and these archives suddenly took on a new significance. The Dominion commission provided by Parliament in connection with the creation of the United Church made special provision both for the Presbyterians that entered the Union and for those that did not, to have access to the archives which told of their common origins. Each of the three constituent denominations became more interested than ever before in understanding the history and traditions of the two others; such facts were useful in understanding mutual psychology when discussion over procedure arose, and contributed to the common store of tradition which was thought to enhance the glory of the United Church. Finally, special research of a most significant character was made soon after the consummation of union in an endeavor to discover how far each of the three denominations had consistently preserved a high regard for the continuity of holy orders.

With all this, however, few outstanding and dependable histories of Canadian churches have yet appeared, although there is a wealth of material, not properly assembled, for one who wishes to do serious research in this area. The fundamental causes for this inadequate attention to history would seem to be as follows:

(a) All frontier countries are of necessity more disposed to wrestle with immediate problems than to meditate on how "they got that way."

(b) The British connection, including the importation of outstanding preachers and theological professors from the old land, has tended to stress the roots of Canadian Church History, which are found in Europe in general and in the motherland in particular, rather than their development when transplanted to the fresh soil of Canada.

(c) The materials for such study are still widely scattered, and much is still in existence in garrets, etc., which may be destroyed as rubbish before scholars have an opportunity of analyzing it. Some materials must also be studied in Glasgow, London, Boston and other cities.

(d) Protestant churches generally have tended to include in the scope of the religious education of both their ministers and laymen far too little knowledge of the general course of the history of the Christian Church after the completion of the book of Revelation, except for some slight knowledge of the period of the Reformation in general and the beginnings of some specific denominations in particular.

It is necessary to keep these limitations in mind as we venture to set forth an outline history of Canadian Protestantism by denominations, as a requisite background to the deeper understanding of the Church Union movement in Canada.

PROTESTANT BEGINNINGS

The first Protestant service in British North America was probably held during the third expedition of Sir Martin Frobisher, 1578, who carried a chaplain, Master Wolfall. This chaplain, it is reported in *Hakluyt's Voyages,* administered the first communion service in Baffinland. The chronicler says that when the two sections of the expedition which had given each other up for lost were reunited [2]

> "they highly praised God, and altogether upon their knees gave him due, humble and hearty thanks, and Master Wolfall, a learned man, appointed by Her Majesty's Council to be their Minister and Preacher, made unto them a godly sermon. . . . [Still later] Master Wolfall on Winters Fornace preached a godly sermon, which being ended he celebrated also a Communion upon the land. . . . This celebration of the divine mystery was the first sign, seal and confirmation of Christ's name, death and passion ever known in these quarters." [2]

Later, in 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert made a proclamation of religion on his arrival at St. John's, Newfoundland. His charter required him to carry with him chaplains who should read morning and evening prayer in every ship, according to the "Common Service approved by the King's Majesty and the laws of the Realm."

In 1597, a number of persons, "falsely called Brownists," received permission to settle in North America and set sail in two ships, the "Hopewell" and the "Chancewell," for the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The "Chancewell" was wrecked off Cape Breton, but the "Hopewell," finding a Spanish ship off Belle Isle, captured it and "with this prize the merchantman, after a short sojourn at Newfoundland, returned to England, carrying their Congregational would-be colonists back with them."[3] The effort to found this northern New England was therefore premature and abortive.

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[2] See *The Old Church in the New Dominion,* by Canon C. W. Vernon (London: S. P. C. K., 1929).

In 1598, the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes by Henry IV of France released the Huguenots from the disabilities under which they had suffered, and some of them immediately received charters from the King to pursue trade in the New World. In 1599, accordingly, a Huguenot named Chauvin, having received letters patent, made a first effort at a settlement in Canada at Tadoussac. He died, however, in 1601, when preparing for a third voyage, and the settlement was all but wiped out. In 1604 another Huguenot, named De Monts, set sail from Havre with Samuel de Champlain, taking with him both Roman Catholics and Huguenots, priests and pastors. He established settlements at St. Croix and later at Port Royal, afterwards called Annapolis Royal. The priests and pastors were accustomed to settle their theological disputes with fisticuffs, to the doubtful edification of the savage Indians. Upon the death of Henry IV, de Monts retired. In 1620, William de Caen, another Huguenot, was placed at the head of the trade of New France; but while Champlain, the Lieutenant-Governor, was in France, de Caen quarrelled with the Jesuit priests, and in 1627 the charter of his company was revoked and a new company formed, and it was decreed that "none but Frenchmen and Roman Catholics were to be permitted to settle in the country." Thus the Huguenots were excluded and French Canada became entirely Roman Catholic.[4] Of course, during the period of French occupation, the British Crown retained a nominal control of Newfoundland, but very little provision was made for its settlement or for ecclesiastical jurisdiction therein by a Protestant clergy until after the cession of Canada.

Early Settlements

The first permanent Protestant settlement of Canada began with the founding of Halifax, in 1749, by Lord Cornwallis. Prior to that time the Church of England chaplains had been occasionally attached to the garrison at Annapolis Royal, but little more was done. Now, however, a flotilla of ships brought settlers from the motherland, and also from Germany via Rotterdam, the fact that the reigning house in England came from Hanover being responsible for the German migration. In that year (1749), two churches were organized in Halifax, one for the Established Church and the other a Dissenters' Chapel, later known as St. Matthew's Church, which was, curiously enough, a "union church," composed for the most part of Congregationalists from New England and Presbyterians. Later, the group of German settlers that had remained in Halifax and not removed to Lunenburg, built a small church which is still standing. Here they received services in their own tongue from a minister of the Church of England who had formerly been a Lutheran chaplain with the German troops at the capture of Louisbourg. It is thus seen that the "union" or "fusion" of the first settlers began at the outset—Congregationalists from New England and Presbyterians mingling in a single Dissenters' Church and German-speaking Lutherans accepting the sacraments from a Church of England chaplain, formerly a Lutheran minister.

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[3] S. N. Jackson, *Handbook of Congregationalism* (Toronto: Congregational Publishing Co., 1894), p. 43.

[4] France itself still enjoyed a measure of toleration under the Edict of Nantes which was denied her colony. Garneau, in his *Histoire du Canada,* laments this expulsion of Huguenots: "of what great advantage would not have been that emigration in masses of men, rich, enlightened, and industrious, to people the banks of the St. Lawrence, or the fertile plains of the West? At least they would not have carried to foreign lands the secret of the arts of France, and we, French Canadians, would not be compelled to defend, foot by foot, against a foreign race, our language, our laws and our nationality."

The Established Church

In 1758, the first legislative assembly of Nova Scotia was formed, and one of its first acts was to provide for the establishment of the Church of England in the colony. The Governor was highly gratified by the concurrence of the non-Anglican representatives, who, though a majority, raised no objections. Therefore, at the outset, British North America recognized the church, as by law established in England, as the church by law established in the new colonies. Clergymen were to be appointed by the Crown, although they were ecclesiastically under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. No bishop for British North America was designated before 1787.

The establishment of the Church of England in Nova Scotia may have aroused no great opposition in the Nova Scotia legislature, but it did create trouble in New England, from which the bulk of the settlers had up to this time come. Immigration fell off to such an extent that the Governor issued in the following year a proclamation, frequently called the charter of Nova Scotia, declaring that, in spite of the establishment, there would be full religious toleration for all groups. This, together with the capture of Quebec, led to a renewed immigration from New England (most of these New Englanders were Congregationalists, but some them were Ulster Presbyterians who entered Nova Scotia via New England), and between 1761 and 1772 the total population rose from 8,104 to 17,000. From that time, however, the population declined until in 1781 there were only 12,000 in the new colony. This was due to the return of many New Englanders on the eve of the American Revolutionary War. In this period we find Congregational churches with ministers in at least eight communities of settlers. The return of the New Englanders removed much of the financial support and several ministers removed as well. This, together with the subsequent tensions developed during the War of the American Revolution, led to the almost entire collapse of Congregationalism, which, in the seventh decade of the eighteenth century, was, in spite of the establishment of the Church of England, the dominant religious force in the colony.

After the war, the population was recruited from the United Empire Loyalists and from the motherland. The new immigrants were of mixed religious inheritances—Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationists, Lutherans and Mennonites. Against the general background, it is possible to outline the subsequent development of each of the major Protestant groups and comment upon their success or failure in extending their activities and achieving inner consolidation.

The Anglicans

It will have been seen that at the very outset the Church of England was established by law as the Church in the colonies, and in this connection it is important to recall a few fundamental facts.

Most of the American colonies had received their charters prior to the Union of England and Scotland in 1707, and before that time the Established Church of England was the Established Church of the territories belonging to England, except where local conditions, e.g., in New England, Pennsylvania, etc., made a modification of this policy imperative. The Toleration Act, passed soon after the accession of William and Mary, freed the Dissenters of some of their most obvious disabilities, but in 1707, when England and Scotland were united, a new religious situation was created. By the terms of that Union the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) was recognized as the Established Church of Scotland, while the Church of England was to be recognized as by law established "within the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, the Dominion of Wales and Town of Berwick on Tweed, and the territories thereunto belonging."

The Act says nothing about new territories or colonies which may later be added to the newly-formed Union. However, we have seen that even after this time the chaplains that accompanied the troops were usually connected with the Church of England, although a Lutheran pastor appears with the German troops at the capture of Louisbourg, while one of the first Acts of the Nova Scotia legislature in 1758 recognized the Church of England as the Established Church of the colony.

Priority of the Church of England

At the time of the Cession of Quebec, in 1759, the articles of capitulation promised freedom of worship according to the Roman Catholic faith to the inhabitants of the newly conquered area, and this promise was confirmed in the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, with the proviso "so far as the laws of England do permit." It was obviously, however, the intention of His Majesty's Council not only to establish Protestantism in Canada and to provide for it with governmental and other grants, but also to designate the Church of England in particular as the recipient of these favors. This is made quite clear in the instructions given to Governor Murray upon his appointment as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of Quebec in December, 1763, in which, after the rights of Roman Catholics with their limitations are set forth, Section 33 begins:

> "And to the end that the Church of England may be established both in principles and practice and that the said inhabitants may by degrees be induced to embrace the Protestant religion, and their children to be brought up in the principles of it, we do hereby declare it to be our intention, etc., etc."

Under these instructions the land was to be surveyed and the boundaries of parishes fixed, the maintenance for a Protestant ministry and Protestant schoolmasters arranged, Divine Service according to the Book of Common Prayer read every Sunday and Holy Day, and no Protestant minister to be appointed to any ecclesiastical benefits in the province without a certificate from the Lord Bishop of London. These instructions were repeated almost verbatim to Governor Carlton in 1768 and in 1775 (after the passing of the Quebec Act).

In 1787, the Crown appointed the first Bishop in British North America, the Reverend Charles Ingles, a United Empire Loyalist, formerly rector of Trinity Church, New York City, and following his appointment sent instructions both to the Governor of Nova Scotia and to Lord Dorchester, Governor of Quebec. These instructions required the governors to give the newly-appointed bishop all possible help and consideration "in the exercise of his jurisdiction spiritual and ecclesiastical, according to the laws of this realm and the laws of the Provinces under your Government," but reserved for the governors, not alone the granting of licenses for marriages, etc., but also the "patronage of right of presentation to benefices." "But," the instructions continued, "it is Our will and pleasure that the person so presented shall be instituted by the Bishop or his Commissioner duly authorized." The instructions also provided for liberty of conscience and the free exercise of all modes of religious worship not prohibited by law and for the recommendation to the "Legislative Council and General Assemblies of the Provinces under your Government to settle the limits of parishes."

About this time there were in what is now the Dominion of Canada two properly constituted colonial governments—the one of Nova Scotia, with its capital city at Halifax; the other of Canada proper, with its seat at Quebec. The total population of Nova Scotia including New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island[5] was about 35,000, that of Canada between 120,000 and 130,000. Of this population, 108,000 were French Canadians, 6,000 were British settlers who had entered the country between 1759 and 1776, and another 6,000 were United Empire Loyalists chiefly located in Upper Canada.

The grave and continuous difficulties of holding the French Canadians and the British Canadians together under one form of government, especially as the French demanded the practice of their own civil law, etc., were such that it was decided to divide Canada into two provinces, under one governor-in-chief, but with two lieutenant-governors and two parliaments, and this division was effected by the Constitutional Act in 1791.

Once again this Act specified very clearly the intention of His Majesty's Government to support and maintain a Protestant clergy in *both* of the said provinces and authorized the respective governments "to make from and out of the lands of the Crown within such Provinces, such allotment and appropriation of lands for the support and maintenance of a Protestant Clergy within the same as may bear due proportion to the amount of such lands within the same as have at any time been granted by or under the authority of His Majesty." Such proportion was later estimated at approximately one-seventh of the value of the land so granted. The Constitutional Act also provided for the erection of parsonages or rectories "according to the establishment of the Church of England and for the presentation of incumbents or clergymen to every such parsonage or rectory." And further, such incumbents or ministers should be "subject and liable to all rights of institution, and all other spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority which have been lawfully granted by His Majesty's Royal Letters Patent to the Bishop of Nova Scotia, or which may hereafter by His Majesty's Royal authority be lawfully granted or appointed to be demonstrated and executed within the same Province or either of them respectively by the said Bishop of Nova Scotia, etc., according to the laws and canons of the Church of England which are lawfully made and received in England."

Two years later, in 1793, the diocese under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Nova Scotia was divided and a separate diocese created for Quebec, over which a new bishop was appointed by the Crown under letters patent, and from that time on new dioceses were created as occasion demanded and the settlement grew, the earliest being: Toronto, in 1839; Fredericton, N. B., in 1845; Rupert's Land (i.e., North West), 1849, and Montreal, in 1850.

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[5] Prince Edward Island had been re-annexed to Nova Scotia in 1784.

Not a Truly Indigenous Church

Throughout this entire time and until after 1850 there was no local "indigenous" organization of the Church of England in Canada nor any legislative bodies able to act in the name of the church. The church was governed by bishops appointed by the Crown and consecrated in England, and the clergymen were in a large measure presented to the benefices by the Crown on the recommendation of the bishops. The *difference between the development of the Church of England in Canada and that of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States after 1783 is consequently patent.* After the War of the Revolution, the church in the United States had to develop from the ground up a new organization, secure the prerogatives of the episcopate and develop synods which would express the mind of the church, since the connection with the Crown of England had been definitely broken by the country. In Canada, however, this connection with the Crown remained and while such control placed at the disposal of the church larger resources than those enjoyed by any of the other denominations, it seriously hampered the inner development and consolidation of the communion in the following ways:

1. It retarded, as already intimated, the development of a constitutional or synodical form of government within the Church of England in Canada itself, since the Bishops were appointed by the Crown, consecrated in England and in no wise the choice of the people themselves; their responsibilities may have been *for* the people but not *to* the people. Further, when the appointment to the benefices was the prerogative of the Crown there was no clarity in respect to the rights and authority of any synod which might be formed.[6] In this connection it must be also remembered that during the whole of the period under consideration no convocation ever met in England and the control of the church was practically in the hands of the Crown (who appointed the bishops) and the patrons (who designated the recipients of the benefices). There was therefore no precedent to guide the new colonial church.

2. The Church of England in Canada was, during this period, in too large a degree financed, first, by the Crown itself and secondly, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the funds of the latter having been diverted to Canada from the work in the United States after the American Revolution. This reliance upon outside help failed to produce within the church itself a spirit of self-reliance and financial self-support without which no indigenous church can become truly effective.

3. The provision in the Constitutional Act for the setting apart of one-

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[6] Interesting legislation occurred in this connection in the Colony of Good Hope and Natal. See *Merriman v. Williams,* 7 Appeal Cases (Privy Council), 1882.

seventh of the Crown Lands as Clergy Reserves and later the attempts in the various provinces to establish colleges and universities under the jurisdiction of the Anglican bishops, but supported from public funds, led to a prolonged struggle between those who supported the exertions of the Established Church on the one hand and all dissenting bodies on the other. This struggle, which was only finally settled in 1853 by the secularization of all undivided Clergy Reserves, with the exception of a provision for annuities for clergymen at that time employed, was a potent factor in binding together Dissenters of various denominations and in deepening the gulf between Anglicans and all Dissenters. The situation became further complicated when ministers of the Church of Scotland were not slow to remind the government that they were entitled to special consideration inasmuch as the Church of Scotland was established by law in that country.

Evolution of the Church of England in Canada

During the whole of this time the Church of England in Canada remained in an anomalous position, favored by the Crown but fought by the Dissenters, and not free to develop synodical and constitutional government such as had been formed in the United States. The Bishop of Nova Scotia first, and later the Bishop of Toronto, created certain voluntary church societies, but the first date of particular significance in the history of the consolidation of the Church of England in Canada is 1851. At that time the Bishops of Quebec, Toronto, Newfoundland, Fredericton and Montreal met and made certain general declarations, the second of which is of particular significance and deals with convocation. After referring to the "anomalous state of the Church of England in these colonies . . . and the doubts entertained as to the validity of any code of ecclesiastical law," it points out that "the Bishops of these Dioceses experience great difficulty in acting in accordance with their Episcopal commission and prerogatives and their decisions are liable to misconstruction as if emanating from their individual will and not from the general body of the Church." They therefore deemed it advisable to take steps to secure synodical government in each diocese in which the laity should have certain representation and urged that there should also be a synod for the Province of Canada meeting in council under a Provincial Metropolitan who should for this purpose be appointed.

In the same year, 1851, since it was obvious that the question of the Clergy Reserves was soon to be settled one way or the other, the Bishop of Toronto called a "conference" of his clergy and laity which discussed among other things the desirability of applying "for permission from the Crown to hold diocesan synods or convocations." On this point Prof. A. H.

Young, of Trinity College, Toronto, the leading historian of the Church of England in Canada, says:

> "The supremacy of Canterbury over the church in the colonies was involved, so negotiations with the Archbishop and with the Colonial Office had to be undertaken. The difficulties which seemed to stand in the way were at last overcome, though apparently not before Australia and New Zealand had obtained the concession."

In 1857 the first Synod of the Diocese of Toronto was held, but a Metropolitan for Canada was not secured before 1861, in which year was convened the first Provincial Synod of Canada. The Church of England in Canada was thus formally launched and was soon proceeding under its own sails.

The fundamental reasons for this consolidation are clear. They are: First, the anomalous condition of the church under Crown control; secondly, the precedents established by the Protestant Epicopal Church in the United States in 1785; thirdly, the economic crisis before the church in 1853 when the Clergy Reserves, which had been set apart for its maintenance, were secularized and devoted to public education.

From that time on the consolidation of the church proceeded steadily, if somewhat slowly. Resources had to be increasingly secured within the communion itself, although a number of the clergy did enjoy the benefits from the commutation of their life annuities.

In spite of the fact that the first Provincial Synod of Canada had been held in 1861, no further meeting was convened for several years, "several leaders of the church thinking erroneously that it had thenceforth no functions to perform." Eventually this province was divided into two, the new province being called Ontario.

Meanwhile another province of the church had been established in the Northwest under the Bishop of Rupert's Land, but the formation of a general synod which would govern the whole church in British North America, including the Province of Rupert's Land, was not made possible before 1893. Since that date the ecclesiastical province of British Columbia has come into existence and consequently the Church of England in Canada at the present time is governed by a general synod, over which a Primate presides; four provincial synods over each of which a Metropolitan presides, and twenty-six diocesan synods, over each of which the Bishop of the Diocese presides.

Not until 1902, however, did the Church of England in Canada develop a sufficient coördination of its missionary organizations to enable it to undertake a campaign of church-planting in the West at all comparable with its original opportunity, although it is perfectly clear that many of the first missionary labors in the West had been carried on under its auspices by men sent out and supported by various societies in the motherland. In this respect its inner consolidation came much later than that of either the Methodists or the Presbyterians, who were already highly organized and had established themselves in the prairie provinces "on the ground floor." Indeed, in the very year, 1902, when the Church of England in Canada was drawing itself together for fresh conquests in the West, the Methodist General Conference made the original proposal for an organic union of Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches.

The Primacy

There is one further step which the Church of England must take to complete, on the organizational side, its inner unity. This is the establishment of a primatial see. At present, the primacy is peripatetic, and usually is awarded on a basis of seniority. Under such conditions, the Primate becomes only a presiding officer or else the official spokesman of the church, rather than an executive officer, and is sure to be at the same time not only Primate of the Dominion, but also the Metropolitan of a province and the bishop of a diocese. At the present time, the Primate resides in Halifax, while the main executive offices of the church societies are in Toronto. The selection of a primatial see from among the existing dioceses would create no little discussion, while the creation of an entirely new and miniature diocese raises a host of similar questions.

Effect of the Oxford Movement

One cannot ignore, moreover, in any consideration of the growth of the Church of England in Canada, the repercussions of the Oxford movement. This tended to divide the Canadian church into two party camps. The one was strenuously "evangelical," and particularly fearful of approximations to Rome because many of the most prominent members of this party had brought unhappy memories of religious wars with them when they came from Ireland to Canada, and had reason to suspect the strength of the hierarchy which had become so formidable along the banks of the St. Lawrence. The other found in the Catholic tradition salvation from the "meretricious mediocrity" to which the state connection had brought the church in England. While the controversy in Canada resulted in the establishment of rival theological institutions (Wycliffe and Trinity in Toronto), and in bitterly fought elections to the episcopate—too often resulting in a compromise which sacrificed able leadership to peace within the walls of the Anglican Zion—this controversy did enliven the church and proved itself a sign of life and not of death. Nevertheless, Canada was spared the epoch-making excitement which came to the Church of England in one of the other colonies, South Africa, at the time of the Bishop Colenso episode.

THE BAPTISTS

Maritime Provinces

Along with the Congregationalists, the Baptists occupy an important place in any consideration of the early settlement of Nova Scotia. A few of the German immigrants in 1750 were "Anabaptist" and there was a scattering of Baptists among the settlers from New England. The relations between the Baptists and the Congregationalists were so intimate in these early days that it is difficult at times to tell to which faith a given church belonged, and it is not without significance that the first association of churches and ministers of either of these bodies was a joint association held first in 1797 and called "The Baptist and Congregational Association." This was due to a split within Congregationalism by the formation of New Light churches which later became Baptist.

While the Baptists rank among the smaller denominations in Canada, in the Maritime provinces they constitute today one of the most vigorous and important bodies, as will be seen in Table IV.

TABLE IV—DENOMINATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN NOVA SCOTIA, NEW BRUNSWICK AND PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, CENSUSES OF 1921 AND 1931

	1921	1931
Total Population	1,000,328	1,009,103
Baptist	178,403	171,017
Anglican	137,681	142,702
Presbyterian	177,082	80,003
Methodist	105,349	......
Congregational	2,939	......
United	....	193,677

These are the only provinces in which the Baptists held, in 1921, a numerical superiority to either the Presbyterians or the Methodists. The Maritime Baptists, moreover, have the honor of being the first Protestant denomination in Canada to send out a foreign missionary, R. E. Burpee, whom they sent to Burma in 1845, one year before the Presbyterians despatched the Rev. John Geddes to the New Hebrides.

The Maritime Baptists, however, were divided for many years between the Free Baptists and the Regular Baptists, the division going back to 1800, when the "Congregational and Baptist Association" became the "Baptist Association of Nova Scotia." Practically all of the thirteen churches were strict communionists, and in 1809 the association voted to "withdraw fellowship from all churches that admit unbaptized persons to what is called occasional communion" and "to consider themselves a close communion Baptist Association." In 1846 this association united with a similar body in New Brunswick to form the Regular Baptist Convention of the Maritimes.

The less strict churches carried on, however, in an unrelated and independent fashion, and eventually took the name of Free Baptists. In 1837 these isolated fragments that had not finally joined the Regular Baptists or other denominations became organized as Free Christian Baptists. Some, however, owing to the personal disagreement of two of the "elders" did not join the new association and called themselves Free Will Baptists. They eventually united in 1866 to form the Free Baptist Conference of Nova Scotia. In 1879, however, a split occurred within these ranks, owing to the refusal of the denomination to reinstate a certain minister, and there arose a third group which took the name of Primitive Baptists. In 1886, another split occurred over the "Holiness" question, and the Reformed Baptists emerged. This latter group is still in existence. A somewhat similar denomination had meanwhile grown up in the neighboring province of New Brunswick, which was originally called the "New Brunswick Christian Conference" (1832). In 1847 the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Conferences united and took the name of the "Free Christian Baptists," forming one denomination with two conferences, each of which sent fraternal delegates to the other. In 1898 this body, by legislation, became the "Free Baptist General Conference."

At last, in 1906, the Regular Baptists and the Free Baptists formed a union, which leaves today only the Reformed Baptists unrelated to the present Maritime Convention.

Ontario and Quebec

In Ontario and Quebec, also, Baptists were among the first settlers, coming from two major sources. American Baptists crossed the Niagara frontier, perhaps as early as 1776, while others had entered the Eastern Townships of Quebec by 1794. Another important group came into the Ottawa Valley from Scotland about 1815. The Scottish Baptists emphasized the "eldership" and looked askance on a professional ministry. Eventually Baptist churches sprang up quite freely in various parts of what were then Upper and Lower Canada, but there was the greatest difficulty in effecting coöperation, usually traced by Baptist historians to two things, first, the communion question, and secondly, the independency of the churches. Between 1816 and 1833 a number of associations were organized, but only in the latter year was an effort made to arrange a conference. Then between 1833 and 1851, no fewer than five missionary unions were formed, only to die one after the other. "The 'East' and the 'West,' the 'open' and the 'close' were suspicious of each other and refused to enter into a federation of the churches."[7]

The great distances and the lack of adequate means of transportation must have also been important factors in preventing fellowship on a large scale, as well as the local differences. However, the East was "open" and the West was "close," and on this rock many plans were wrecked.

Finally, in 1851, the obstacles to coöperation were overcome, and "The Regular Baptist Missionary Convention of Canada West" was organized, which was the precursor of the present Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. It is not insignificant that the union was facilitated because at this time the discussion of the secularization of the Clergy Reserves was prevalent, and the Baptists, confronted with a common danger to their principles of completely free churches in a free state, felt that they should unite forces and so speak as one body. In 1858 a similar convention was developed in Quebec and the Ottawa Valley, and in 1888 these two conventions were united in the present Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.

Along the shores of Lake Erie there were a number of Freewill Baptist churches which fostered an intense evangelicalism and were suspicious of all the heretically inclined. When, about 1850, an outstanding Baptist leader from Toronto went to assist in the ordination of one of their ministers, they allowed him to fulfil the role assigned to him, but would not permit him to partake with them of the communion. One by one these churches came into the regular convention, however, until today only one of them survives as an entirely independent unit.

In the West

Even when the trek to the West from the East began, and up to the present time, the Maritime Convention and the Convention of Ontario and Quebec never consolidated their forces in a dominion-wide organization, and this, perhaps, is responsible for their failure to spread as rapidly as they might otherwise have done. Their growth in the West has therefore been more sporadic and casual. The Baptist Convention of Manitoba was organized in 1884 and the Baptist Convention of British Columbia in 1897. These two organizations came together in 1907 and now constitute the Baptist Union of Western Canada. Their strength in the West may be gathered from Table V.

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[7] Schutt and Cameron, *The Call of Our Own Land* (Toronto: American Baptist Publication Society).

TABLE V—BAPTIST STRENGTH IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES, 1930

Province	Number of Churches*	Number of Members	Baptist Pop. (1931)
Manitoba	32	3,265	13,483
Saskatchewan	28	3,005	22,606
Alberta	38	4,717	30,488
British Columbia	32	3,995	23,391
Province undesignated†	40	1,814	.....
Total	170	16,796	89,968

* The number of churches, with their membership, include only those connected with the Baptist Union of Western Canada. There are in addition several free-lance churches.

† Swedish, Ukrainian, Norwegian and Hungarian Baptists, scattered through the four provinces and included in the Baptist population, but not in the totals of churches and membership of the individual provinces.

The total population in these provinces in 1931 was 3,047,792; hence, the Baptist population is 2.7 per cent. of all the people in the four western provinces. The membership of the United Church in the same area is 167,426, and the United Church population is 760,801.

In the Dominion as a whole, therefore, there is still no central convention of Baptist churches, but there are three territorial conventions embracing respectively the Maritime provinces, Ontario and Quebec, and the western provinces. All three conventions, however, are served by a common foreign missionary society, which was formed in 1911 by the consolidation of the missionary societies of the three separate conventions. Some hope that a similar unit may be formed in the near future by the merging of the three home missionary societies. At present, however, the two conventions in the East turn over certain funds which they raise each year for home missions to the Western Convention, which has the complete disposition of the same.

This denomination, in spite of its genuine vitality, has not effected as yet a Dominion-wide inner consolidation which would provide it with an effective machinery for self-propagation. What is more, in recent years the denomination has manifested more centrifugence than centripetence, especially in Ontario and Quebec. No Canadian denomination has been more torn by the Fundamentalist-Modernist issue. The conflict arose over teaching at McMaster University, simmered between 1910 and 1926 and resulted in schism. Approximately ninety churches constituted a union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec and profess allegiance to fundamentalist principles. In 1930-31, however, there have been secessions from this group, until the present situation defies classification.

If this is the situation in Ontario and Quebec, in the Maritime provinces there is still, as previously indicated, in spite of the union of 1906, a group of Reformed Baptists not yet incorporated in the major body; while in the

West certain fundamentalist or premillenarian churches maintain a separate existence. Canadian Baptists, therefore, have achieved neither organizational nor temperamental unification.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS

While the Anglicans have probably the title to priority in the holding of services in British North America, the first extensive settlements in Nova Scotia were made by Congregationalists. Most of these came from New England after 1750, but, as has been shown, not a few returned to the United States after 1771 and before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. The settlers were poor, although at Cumberland they were able to pay out of their own pockets the sum of eighty pounds a year to their minister. The causes of the collapse of these beginnings of Congregationalism in Nova Scotia have been traced elsewhere in this book to the return of the New Englanders on the eve of the War of the American Revolution, to the prevailing sympathy of the Congregationalists with the "rebels" in the American colonies, and to the consequent difficulty of securing ministers from New England. Still another reason was the invasion of New Light Congregationalism into Nova Scotia on the eve of the War of the American Revolution. Henry Alline was a native of Newport, R. I., and his family had emigrated to Nova Scotia when he was still a boy. He had a deeply religious nature and his religion took the form not of "a social gospel" with political connotations, but of an assurance of individual salvation. He visited every centre where a Congregational church had been established, held meetings, preached his gospel of personal regeneration, broke asunder the societies already troubled by the imminent war and set down New Light Congregational churches beside them. Although he himself died presumably a Congregationalist, he is today regarded as the father of the Baptist churches in Nova Scotia, since most of these New Light churches formed the nucleus of the first Baptist Convention in the colony.[8] Some four of the original Congregational churches, however, with a few others organized later, continued as Congregational churches until they entered the United Church of Canada. These have the longest continued history of any of the United churches in the country, with the exception of St. Matthew's, Halifax, which was begun in 1749.[9]

Quebec

In Quebec Congregationalism appears first in 1801, when a minister sent out by the London Missionary Society formed a church, which, after undergoing many metamorphoses, became a Presbyterian church in the city of Quebec. This minister refused to abide by the laws forbidding the performance of the marriage ceremony by any save clergymen of the Church of England, and for this he was fined fifty pounds and sent to jail for six months. In the Eastern Townships of Quebec, there were many settlers from New England—in these townships English and not French law prevailed—and the Congregationalists among them in the early decades of the nineteenth century secured Congregational ministers from Vermont.

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[8] The Baptist and Congregational Association of Nova Scotia, organized 1797.

[9] St. Matthew's was really a Presbyterian Congregational church in the beginning, but became exclusively Presbyterian.

Ontario

In Ontario, the first Congregational church was the result of spontaneous combustion. In a township in Elgin County the few settlers were in part New England Congregationalists and in part North of Ireland Presbyterians. They organized a local church in 1819 which, in the interests of unity, was called The Congregational-Presbyterian Prince of Peace Society. They selected the local schoolmaster as their minister, who was then duly ordained for the purpose.

Early Home Missionary Societies

In these years of beginnings, Congregationalism received little help either from New England or from England. A few ministers came from the former place into Quebec as intimated above, but the only real missionary effort undertaken by American Congregationalism was in the eighteen-forties when the American Missionary Association interested itself in the refugee slaves who had travelled by the underground railroad to their asylum in Canada.[10]

Henry Wilkes, writing in Newcomb's *Cyclopedia of Missions* (1854), says that "In 1829, the American Home Missionary Society had several Congregational and Presbyterian missionaries introduced to the country and continued for about ten years to do something for Canada."

The English Congregationalists were not organized for any particular promotional work, although the London Missionary Society, at this time interdenominational in its scope, sent out several men to Canada between 1801 and 1820. Two of these men had formerly been connected with Congregational or Dutch Reformed churches in England, but soon after their arrival in Canada became identified with the Anti-burgher Presbytery of Pictou, N. S. One of these men was the grandfather of the first Moderator of The United Church of Canada.[11] Other missionaries whom it sent out are known to have founded churches, the later course of whose history it is difficult to trace.

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[10] It is significant that the only colored church in The United Church of Canada today was formerly a Congregational church.

[11] Rev. Edward Pidgeon came to Canada under the L.M.S. in 1809.

In 1827 there was organized in Montreal an interdenominational Home Missionary Society composed of Baptists, Congregationalists and a few Presbyterians, who agreed to work together for the promotion of Christianity in the country. The first secretary of this society was Henry Wilkes, to whom possibly more than to any one else the later development of Congregationalism is due.[12] This society helped to establish many churches, some of them union in character, and others purely Congregational. A cholera epidemic in 1832 broke the initial interest in its work and "the union of three different denominations on the board of management did not prove a success." The Baptists announced their intention of withdrawing to form a society of their own. The only Presbyterians who took any interest and remained with the Canada Home Missionary Society were those of the American (Presbyterian) Church in Montreal.[13]

Any further extension of Congregationalism in Canada awaited a consolidation of the denomination in the motherland itself. This was effected only in 1831, when the Congregational Union of England and Wales became an established fact. A few years later, 1834, the newly organized union sent fraternal delegates across the Atlantic to convey greetings to American Congregationalists. These delegates also visited Canada and on their return to England not only conferred with the London Missionary Society but also initiated proceedings which led to the formation, in 1836, of the Colonial Missionary Society, the purpose of which was to plant Congregational churches in all the British colonies. This society continued to help in Canada for over seventy years.

With help from the motherland assured, Congregationalism went forward at a fairly rapid rate both in the Maritime provinces and in Quebec and particularly in Ontario. In 1846 the churches of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick formed a union. In 1853 the churches in Ontario and Quebec amalgamated their two unions into one. The Congregational Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec came together in 1906 to form the Congregational Union of Canada.

Lack of Recruits

A major problem confronting the Congregationalists arose, however, out of the comparative paucity of their churches and the further fact that such churches as were organized received comparatively little benefit from the normal immigration into the country. Congregationalism was comparatively negligible in Scotland and Ireland, which countries contributed so many influential settlers in Canada. The Congregationalists of England were to a large degree drawn from the middle classes and hence did not emigrate to any large extent. The English immigrants were for the most part Methodist or Anglican. The only other source from which Canadian Congregationalism might have been recruited to any large degree was the United States, and while many of its stronger churches had a New England backbone in them, Canadian Congregationalism in general lost more to the States than it gained.[14]

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[12] Henry Wilkes, preaching as a student at Hamilton, near Glasgow, Scotland, was the means of "bringing salvation" to the home of David Livingstone's father.

[13] John Brown, *The Colonial Missions of Congregationalism* (London: Congregational Union, 1908).

As a general result, even in many cases where Congregational churches received a good start, they were eventually smothered through the organization of competitive churches. Further, when the migration from east to west began, the eastern Congregational churches were not sufficiently strong to follow those who went west and who, consequently, joined the churches already at hand in their respective communities, most of which were either Presbyterian or Methodist.[15]

In the West

One of the first Congregational churches to be formed in the West was at Victoria, B. C., in 1859. A minister was sent out by the Colonial Missionary Society to work there, in part among the colored people who had sought asylum from the United States. He encountered difficulty, and wrote:

> "My family and I have been subject to persecution and annoyance in various forms, my little children taunted by other children in the streets with having 'the nigger preacher' for a father, laughed at for sitting beside niggers in Sunday school and at meeting, and told we shall not be allowed to have church much longer,—echoes of utterances they have heard at home." [16]

The rough settlers of Victoria, most of whom were miners, protested to the Colonial Missionary Society against this interracialism, and the society censured the minister. When the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec was apprised of this censure, they in their turn did not hesitate at their meeting in 1860 to censure the Colonial Missionary Society. This church, however, collapsed with the withdrawal of the missionary in question.

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[14] For the loss in the ministry itself, see chapter i, page 17.

[15] The Baptists suffered similarly. Baptist ministers tell of churches today in the West, formerly Presbyterian or Methodist, in which half of the members of the women's societies were formerly Baptists in the East.

[16] In a report of the Toronto Auxiliary to the Congregational Missionary Society, 1846, it is written: "In one neighborhood a church has been formed consisting principally of people of the African race altogether, with a few persons of our own color who unite with them in Christian brotherhood and the enjoyment of Heaven's ordinances."

No further effort was made to plant churches in the West until 1873. Then a representative was sent out who gathered together two congregations which were finally organized in 1879 and 1881 respectively. The Colonial Missionary Society of London contributed in part to the support of a minister at Winnipeg and authorized him to start Congregational churches wherever he saw a good opportunity for them to become self-supporting in a reasonably short time. He visited almost every community in the West lecturing, but became convinced that there were no places where a Congregational church could be formed with any such prospects as those stipulated. Already the Presbyterians and the Methodists were more than well-organized, combing the country for any stray settlers, and with these more highly organized churches Congregationalism could not compete. For these, and similar, reasons, the minister refrained from planting any churches and some of the few which eventually did emerge were due to internal dissensions in local Presbyterian churches. Thus, Congregationalism only touched a few of the major centres of population in the West and hardly ventured into the hinterland at all, except in later years when it accepted a special responsibility for certain Swedish and German settlers and, under the coöperative scheme arranged in preparation for union, a definite area in Saskatchewan.

Union with United Brethren

In 1907 a number of churches connected with the United Brethren in Christ united with the Congregationalists on a somewhat federal basis. In stating their reasons for desiring union, they said:

> "Their churches in Canada had suffered from the fact that their associations and interests were almost entirely linked with the parent body in the United States. They had come to the conclusion that it was necessary either to separate and become a United Brethren Church purely Canadian or to unite with some other religious body on this side of the line. The result had been a unanimous decision to seek union with the Congregationalists."

The terms of union provided that these churches should retain their identity within the Congregational Church and be known as the "United Brethren Association of Congregational Churches"; they were further to retain the principle of superintendency and the system of itineracy, the right to establish their own courses of study and standards for the ordination to the ministry, and their own financial system of benevolences. They were but a small group, consisting of only some 1,400 members and the vote on union was almost unanimous: 609 to 101.

Home and Foreign Missions

Reference has already been made to certain early home missionary societies organized within Canadian Congregationalism. In 1835 such societies existing in Ontario and Quebec were merged into the Congregational Missionary Society, and in 1885 this organization was merged in turn with the Missionary Society in the Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. A Congregational Foreign Missionary Society was organized in 1881, prior to which time contributions for foreign work were sent to London or to Boston. Eventually, the Canadian Congregational churches undertook specific responsibility for certain American Board work in Angola, West Central Africa, and brought this particular responsibility with them into The United Church of Canada in 1925. Neither of the other uniting denominations had any foreign work in Africa.

Congregationalism and the Union

It will be properly inferred that Canadian Congregationalism was an extremely small body. Indeed, in 1925, when Church Union was consummated, they were so small numerically that in the public mind they hardly entered the picture at all, and the union was thought of quite commonly as a Presbyterian-Methodist affair. In 1871, according to the Dominion census, they represented only 0.63 per cent. of the total population in the Dominion, and this percentage had declined until in 1921 it was only 0.35 per cent. The Congregationalists had always been aware of their lack of growth and speculated, perhaps idly, on the causes of their inability to make greater headway in Canada. They had been the first dissenting group to take foothold in the Dominion, but the odds were against them. The War of the American Revolution broke a connection with New England which might have helped; the English Congregationalists organized themselves for common action too late to be of real assistance; the immigration was not of a character to build up Congregational churches; they constantly lost some of their strongest leaders to the United States, and to other denominations in Canada, notably to the Presbyterian; their theology was not sufficiently different from that of other evangelical denominations to give them any particular *raison d'être,* while their polity, individualist as it was, did not suffice to secure the machine-like organization imperatively needed in a country so disparate and opening up to settlement at so rapid a pace; the very movement for union itself hastened the decease of some of the churches of this order, the people feeling the futility of sacrificing to keep up a small cause which would probably be merged in a local union when the three denominations finally came together.

Congregationalism in Canada did, however, enjoy the type of fellowship which perhaps only small units really know. It was more of a family than a denomination. Everybody knew everybody else, and their denominational paper was rich in "personals." Congregationalists had to lose this intimacy for fellowship in a larger body and a more perfect machine, and some today are conscious that they have lost something which can hardly be secured in a larger church. They are also conscious that for them the union was in large measure absorption; but if the Congregational "stream of influence" is seen with difficulty in the personnel of the United Church, it wrote itself into the constitution of the United Church particularly at two points: it helped to secure the largest possible measure of autonomy for the local church and especially the right of the local church to "call" its minister; and it absolutely refused to enter the Union unless creedal subscription was couched in terms of mere "substantial agreement." To this, however, reference must be made later. Further, though numerically smaller than the Baptists, it had been able to achieve its inner consolidation.

THE METHODISTS

In the area at present served by The United Church of Canada, the cause of Methodism was started first in Newfoundland, when a former Methodist preacher was appointed, in 1767, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for work in that colony and received ordination soon afterwards by the Bishop of London. He labored here until 1773, during which time a revival broke out not unlike that which was sweeping England at this time. Opposition, however, developed and he returned to England in 1773, but the work which he had initiated spread in spite of opposition, and has had an unbroken history since that time.

The Maritime Provinces

In Nova Scotia the beginnings of Methodism may be traced to two sources, one English and the other American. In 1772 a party of immigrants from Yorkshire settled in Cumberland County. These people were for the most part Methodist. They seem to have become the residuary legatees of the Congregational work in the county, which collapsed in the years just preceding the War of the American Revolution. In 1771, a young man, William Black, who had come to Nova Scotia from Yorkshire with his family, left his home in Amherst without instructions from any organization and initiated an evangelistic effort, which resulted in the extension of Methodist principles and societies and in off-setting what he conceived to be the errors of Henry Alline and the New Light Congregational movement. It is interesting to note that in William Black's missionary journeys he was received cordially in the Baptist churches of the time, especially as these did not at first adopt the practice of close communion. He also married the daughter of a deacon in the Congregational Church. He is generally considered the father of Methodism in eastern British America.

After the War of the American Revolution, Methodism in the Maritime provinces was reinforced by the coming of the United Empire Loyalists and consequently Methodism, especially in New Brunswick, grew and received some help from the Methodist Episcopal churches in the United States. Owing, however, to the fact that the first Methodists in Nova Scotia had come from England, the relations with British Wesleyanism were of so firm a character that from the time of the first Conference, in 1786, it enjoyed intimate relations with both the British and American movements, together with a large measure of independence. The New York Conference sent several preachers to Nova Scotia and to New Brunswick, but owing to prevailing United Empire Loyalist sentiment, many of them stayed only a short time, and most of the Methodist missionaries who remained in the colony came out from England. This conference continued a separate unit until 1874, when it entered the Methodist Church of Canada. While Methodism gained considerable strength in the Maritimes, it never had the strength of either Presbyterians or Baptists, although in the one county of Cumberland, originally settled by the Yorkshire Methodists, it remained the dominant denomination.

Ontario and Quebec

In Ontario and Quebec the course of Methodism was more troubled on account of the fact that the first Methodists came from the United States after the War of the American Revolution, settled along the upper St. Lawrence and about the Bay of Quinte, and were, until after the war of 1812, an intimate and recognized part of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. At first these early churches were connected with the New York and Genesee Conferences, but the war of 1812–15 made this connection anomalous. At the close of the war, the British Wesleyans sent their first missionaries to the Canadas proper, and soon Canadian Methodism was agitated by the problem of British or American affiliation. Feeling ran high and Methodists were criticised by outsiders as being disloyal to the British government. The earliest Wesleyan missionaries from England, who came to Ontario, refused to stay and returned home. Others, however, took their places and competition ensued. In 1820 an agreement was effected by which the British Wesleyans were given the "occupation" of Lower Canada, while the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States continued to "occupy" Upper Canada. In 1824 the churches in Upper Canada were formed into a separate conference, and in 1828 the churches in this conference were formally recognized as an autonomous communion, and known as the Episcopal Methodist Church in Canada. Thereupon, the British Wesleyans considered that their agreement of 1820 with the American church was no longer binding, and proceeded to send in their missionaries to Upper Canada, alleging that many British Wesleyans had migrated there and that the new independent Canadian church was entirely unable to accept the financial responsibility of looking after them. This initiated a new controversy which led, in 1833, to a union of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada with the British Wesleyan Conference, the former being now called the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America; the presiding officer became not a bishop but a president, and there were some other slight changes in discipline.

The union was, however, greeted with mixed emotions and in 1835 a schism occurred, and a new Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada broke away and retained its separate existence until 1884.

Meanwhile a difference of opinion arose between the British Wesleyan Conference and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America.[17] Under the leadership of John and Egerton Ryerson, the Canadian Methodists were fighting the effort of the Canadian government to continue the recognition and endowments of the Church of England as the established religion in Canada. At the same time the British Wesleyans were accepting certain grants from His Majesty out of the Casual and Territorial Revenue, and the British government brought such pressure on the British Wesleyans that they, in turn, brought pressure upon the Ryersons and those who were fighting for civil and religious liberty, in a vain effort to prevent such "meddling in politics." The result was that the Canadian church separated from the British Wesleyans in 1840, and was not reunited with them again until 1847. Then a settlement was reached and a basis of re-union, similar to that which determined the relation of the British and Irish conferences at the time, was adopted. This arrangement lasted until 1874, when the Methodist Church of Canada was formed.

Within the main stream of Canadian Methodism, after its final adoption by British Wesleyanism, work was carried on somewhat independently in Quebec and Ontario, although these came together in 1854 to form the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada. Throughout this time, the President of the Canadian Conference and its Superintendent of Missions were appointed by the British Conference.

Smaller Methodist Bodies

Meanwhile, in addition to the Wesleyan and Methodist Episcopal churches, whose origins we have briefly traced, New Connexion missionaries came out from England and worked in Lower Canada prior to 1837. In that year, one of them came to Upper Canada. He entered into negotiations with a small group then known as the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church, established in 1829 by Elder Henry Ryan, a disaffected minister, who had, in the interests of the peace of Zion, been superannuated four years before. These negotiations resulted in a union under the name of "The Canadian Wesleyan Methodist New Connexion," and in 1840 a further union was formed between this body and a small community of Protestant Methodists in eastern Canada.

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[17] For a full and carefully documented history of this struggle, see Alexander Sutherland: *Methodism in Canada* (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1904), pp. 180–268.

The work of the Primitive Methodists in Canada originates with a certain Robert Walker, a layman, who migrated to Canada in 1829. Soon after his arrival he took steps to organize a society based on their principles, and this society afterwards applied for help to the Primitive Methodists of England and received it. The Primitive Methodist Church in Canada eventually grew until, in 1884, it had eighty-nine ministers and a total membership of 8,090.

In 1831 the Bible Christian Society of England, although it had a missionary income of only $520, sent two missionaries to Canada. One went to Prince Edward Island and the other came to what is now Ontario. Their work grew mostly in these two provinces and in 1883 this denomination had 80 ministers, 7,400 members, 30,000 adherents, 181 churches, 55 parsonages and a total property valued at $400,000, with a debt of but $50,000.

Unity Out of Diversity

In 1874, Canadian Methodism was divided as follows: There was one Wesleyan conference in the Canadas and another Wesleyan conference in the Maritime provinces; there was a Canada Conference of the Methodist New Connexion; there was a Primitive Methodist Church in Canada; there was a Bible Christian Church operating mostly in Ontario and Prince Edward Island. The desire to unify these forces led the British Wesleyan Conference to appoint, in 1868, the Rev. William Morley Punshon as president of the Canadian Conference, which position he held for five successive years.[18] The first conference over which he presided met in Kingston in 1868, at the same time that the synod of the Canadian Presbyterian Church was meeting, and the synod sent a fraternal delegate to the conference. This is supposed to have been the first time that a synod of the Scotch Church ever sent a deputation to any Methodist conference. Dr. Punshon, in receiving this deputation, offered in conclusion "to join our Scotch friends in a solemn league and covenant against sin and the Man of Sin," when the enthusiastic applause proved that the meaning was not mistaken.[19] Dr. Punshon, in the five years of his presidency, contributed much to the growth of Methodism. His special contributions were, first, the improvement which he brought about in the prevailing type of church architecture, and secondly, the laying of the foundations for the union of the Wesleyans in the Maritime, the Wesleyans in Ontario and Quebec and the New Connexion, which was consummated in 1874. The basis of this union provided for lay representation in the General Conference, thus marking a distinct step forward in the democratization of the church. Among the terms, however, were definite restrictions to the powers of the General Conference, which was not allowed, among other things, to "revoke, alter or change any article of religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to our existing and established standards" nor "to make any changes in the General Rules of our Society."

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[18] See Macdonald, *The Life of William Morley Punshon, LL.D.* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1887).

This union left four different Methodist bodies still unrelated: (a) The Methodist Church in Canada formed in 1874 by the union just mentioned; (b) The Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada; (c) The Primitive Methodist Church in Canada; (d) The Bible Christian Church. These finally came together in the Methodist Church, Canada, in 1884.

The dates of the three most significant Methodist unions are thus 1854, 1874 and 1884. The first date is significant because at this time the discussion over the Clergy Reserves had finally been settled and, as we have already seen, this discussion had been a potent factor in bringing together the Baptists on the one hand and the Church of England in Canada on the other. It would seem natural to suppose that a controversy of this character was psychologically responsible, in part at least, for the first important Methodist union.

The second date, 1874, must also be considered in the light of these facts: First, the Canada Presbyterian Church had already been formed in 1867, by the union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches. Dr. Morley Punshon came to Canada in the following year. Secondly, in 1867 a confederation of four provinces, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, had been formed. Prince Edward Island joined the new confederation in 1873. Under the terms of this federal union, a railroad had to be built connecting the Maritime provinces with the Canadian provinces. Since better transportation facilities would now be available, it was but natural that Methodism in these two areas should now come together. Thirdly, the Dominion had further included British Columbia in 1871 and had secured from the Hudson's Bay Company their rights and privileges in the vast area commonly called the Northwest. Methodism had already sent missionaries to the West and now had to gird itself for its conquests there.

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[19] Westminster Confession, Chapter XXV, Article 6: "There is no other Head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be the head there-of; but is that Anti-Christ, that Man of Sin and Son of Perdition, etc."

The third date, 1884, is significant for the following reasons: First, nine years previously, in 1875, the Canada Presbyterian Church had united with the Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada; consequently Canadian Presbyterianism was now almost entirely consolidated. Methodism had to follow suit. Secondly, the Canadian Pacific Railway was nearing its completion and the last spike was to be driven in 1885. This meant comparatively easy access to the fertile areas of the prairie provinces and even to the far Pacific Coast. The consolidation of Canadian Methodism was, therefore, imperative if Methodism was to be a vital force in the building up of the West. The respective strength of the four uniting churches at the time of this union, in 1884, is shown in Table VI.

TABLE VI—STRENGTH OF FOUR UNITING CHURCHES, 1884

	Meth. Church of Canada	Meth. Episc. Church	Prim. Meth. Church	Bible Christian Church	Total
Ministers	1,216	259	89	80	1,644
Effective	*875*	*189*	*64*	*56*	*1,184*
Superannuated or Supernumerary	*174*	*39*	*15*	*13*	*241*
Probationers	*167*	*31*	*10*	*11*	*219*
Members	128,744	25,671	8,090	7,398	169,903
On Probation	*8,375*	*1,883*	*1,413*	*480*	*12,151*
Full	*120,369*	*23,788*	*6,677*	*6,918*	*157,752*

The main difficulties to be overcome before effecting these consolidations within Methodism were not doctrinal but administrative and temperamental. The Methodist Episcopal Church was particularly solicitous about the maintenance of the episcopate. There is reason to believe that many of the Wesleyans in 1884 would have willingly accepted the principle of the episcopate but were averse to accepting the bishop then in office as the bishop in the new church. On the other hand, the Primitive Methodists and the Bible Christians were particularly insistent on equal lay representation in the courts of the church, and demanded this as a price of their inclusion in the new union. The result of the negotiations was that (1) Canadian Methodism abandoned the episcopate and adopted a general superintendency and (2) laymen were given an even larger place not only in the work of the church but also in its courts. In this increasing recognition of the place and authority of the layman, Methodism was approximating a Presbyterian polity, although there were still important committees of the church, membership in which was limited to the ordained ministry. Before the union was effected, one of the smaller bodies was required to equalize its annuity funds commitments with those of the other bodies.

There seems to be little doubt, however, that one reason for the union was to be found in a measure of discouragement on the part of the smaller bodies as is set forth in the following extract from a letter written by a Primitive Methodist minister to England:

> "Nearly all other religious societies in this country have some literary institution, in which young men are being trained for their ministry. Our defect in this matter we have felt, and do feel as the age becomes literary in its character. Another difficulty in our way is the larger salaries held out to ministers by older and wealthier societies. This prevents young men of education and talent who are somewhat influenced by considerations connected with this life from entering our ministry; and in inducing some ministers who have been with us to seek a wealthier and more comfortable home elsewhere." [20]

Another reason was the futility of various Methodist churches competing with each other in a comparatively small town. Thus, there is a description of Streetsville in 1858, which fifty years later had a population of only 500; yet in this small village there was an Anglican church, a Wesleyan church, a Methodist Episcopal church and a Primitive Methodist church. The effect of the union of 1884 was seen perhaps most clearly in the consolidation of local churches which followed, although ministers that were sent to these communities where overlapping existed remember quite well that such local unions were not effected without great difficulty and there are certain instances on record where the final solution only came when a providential fire destroyed one of the buildings. Nevertheless, the various types of Methodism were able to effect local consolidations more expeditiously after the union of 1884 than were the various types of Presbyterianism after the Presbyterian union of 1875. This would seem to be due, in part at least, to the itineracy system and the ability of the denomination to assign to given churches, for a period of years, leaders whose job it was to effect the consolidation and whose continued ministry in a given church was not dependent on the unqualified approval of the congregation.

Later Developments

From the time of the union in 1884, Methodism became particularly aggressive, not only in the West, but also in some areas in which it was particularly weak. For example, in Pictou County, Nova Scotia, many new Methodist churches were organized. In this county the Dominion Census for 1881 showed only four Methodist churches, in 1891 nine churches, and in 1901, eighteen churches. During this whole period, as will be seen in Appendix Table 1, Methodism reached the height of its growth about 1891, and was shocked to discover, in 1901, that it was beginning to lose its hold. In 1902, the General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, at the meetings of the General Conference in Winnipeg, called attention to these losses in his opening address, but offered no particular diagnosis of the difficulty nor any solution other than a "greater use of the penitent bench and the mercy seat."

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[20] Rev. John Lacey, quoted in *Old Time Primitive Methodism in Canada,* by Mrs. R. P. Hopper (Toronto: William Briggs, 1904).

The fundamental difficulty, of course, would seem to reside in the trek from the East to the West, and from the rural areas to the city. This migratory tendency led to spiritual deracination and from this all denominations suffered. Indeed, the Methodist General Conference was convened in Winnipeg in 1902, since the leaders recognized that with existing trends within the Dominion, Methodism must discover new ways and means of holding the West or it would lose its position among Protestant denominations in Canada. It was also this very conference which took the first definite steps towards union, when it appointed a committee to confer with other denominations in the matter of organic union.

While Methodism had effected a practically complete inner consolidation of its forces, there were still two types of churches with methodistical traditions which never entered any of the Methodist unions. These were the Evangelical Church and the Free Methodist Church. The Evangelical Church is found only in German settlements, and the total Evangelical population of Canada is given in the census of 1921 as 7,020, of whom 5,296 are to be found in Ontario, 3,343 of them in the single county of Waterloo.[21] The Free Methodists are lumped in the Dominion census under the general category of Methodists, but they constitute a small group and report only 100 churches, with a total membership of 2,086. A number of Free Methodist ministers are women, and, generally speaking, the impact of this denomination upon Canadian life is slight. The various territorial conferences of both these churches have direct American affiliations. At one time, 1894, negotiations for union between Evangelicals and Methodists seemed to indicate success, but in the end they broke down; the American connection created difficulties.

While Methodism was thus pulling itself together, it also contributed largely, though not at all exclusively, to the hiving off of small groups that continued the revivalistic traditions in which Methodism had originated. One of its ministers, the Rev. Ralph Horner, who was duly assigned to a church by the stationing committee 1890–1895, refused to go, preferring to remain a free-lance evangelist, and in 1895 the Montreal Conference dropped his name from its roll. He immediately started a Holiness Movement Church, of which he was "bishop" until 1916. Then, this group split, and the same leader started a new church called the "Standard Church of America." The church was duly incorporated in both Canada and the United States, and has now thirty-nine churches in the East and seven in the West, a training school and a publishing house. More recently, there has been a certain leakage from the Methodist Church (and to a small degree from the United Church) to the Pentecostal and allied movements. Some of these peripheral societies show no little vitality and do not hesitate in certain cases to include "Wesleyan" in their local name, and to claim that they stand for the "unadulterated gospel of the Wesleys." Pentecostal churches or halls are found everywhere, and they have inherited some of the vitality not only of early Methodism but also of the Salvation Army. The hiving-off process would seem to be due essentially to the fact that Methodism was discarding not only its revivalistic emphasis, but also its "sectarian" character, and in these processes the student of religious sociology can well detect the essential differences, if any, between "churches" and "sects." In many of the rural areas, especially along the Bay of Quinte, Methodism was almost without any competition, and while this may have led to a certain static condition, it did at the same time contribute to creating the conception of the church as the servant of the community and not merely as one "sect."

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[21] The official figures of the Evangelical Church, however, give 72 churches and 8,693 members.

CHAPTER III

Origins and Consolidations of Protestant Denominations in Canada (continued)

The Presbyterians

Although there was a Presbyterian chaplain with the Scottish troops at the capture of Louisburg, 1758, the first Presbyterian minister to work among the settlers was the Rev. James Lyon, who, in 1764, was commissioned for this purpose by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. This help was given in answer to a petition from Ulster Presbyterian settlers who had first gone to Londonderry, N. H., and thence to Truro and Londonderry, N. S. In 1766 the General Associate, or Anti-burgher section of the Secession Church in the North of Ireland, sent out the Rev. James Murdoch. Not until 1770 did any of the branches of the church in Scotland despatch assistance to the new colony, but in that year two men arrived, neither of whom was connected with the Established Church of Scotland, but were both in fellowship with the Secession Church. The first minister of the Church of Scotland arrived only in 1783, to assume the pastorate of the Dissenting Chapel at Halifax, which could no longer seek its ministers in New England. He was joined in the following year by another Church of Scotland minister who had served in the American colonies, but who came to Canada at the close of the war because of his Loyalist sympathies.

In 1769, a number of the foreign Protestants, who had removed from Halifax to Lunenburg, built a small Dutch Reformed Church in that community, and called as their first minister a certain Mr. Bruin Romcas Comingo. For his ordination, it was necessary to convoke a special presbytery, and consequently, in 1770, two *Presbyterian* ministers met together with two *Congregational* ministers and ordained Mr. Comingo to the ministry of the *Dutch Reformed* Church. Once again, the necessities of pioneer life overrode exact ecclesiastical procedure.

The first properly constituted presbytery in what is now the Dominion of Canada was organized at Truro, N. S., in 1786. Five ministers in all were present, but only three, all of whom were connected with the Burgher synod of the Secession Church, sat as members of the presbytery. One of the others was an Anti-burgher, newly arrived, while the fifth was connected with the Church of Scotland.

Transplanted Differences

Thus, at the outset, we find the course of Canadian Presbyterianism affected by the importation from the motherland of differences which had arisen in Scotland and had no real pertinence to colonial life. The history of Canadian Presbyterianism is, therefore, in large measure, the story of the transplantation of these differences, and their subsequent fusion in Canada not only anticipated similar Presbyterian unions in Scotland and the United States, but may even have contributed to the drawing together of the reformed churches holding the Presbyterian system, in a World's Alliance. In this connection, however, it must also be remembered that in Ireland the Secessionists and the Synod of Ulster came together in 1840, just as the Church of Scotland proper was preparing for the great Disruption of 1843.

The Church of Scotland

To understand the Canadian situation, therefore, it is necessary to recall certain outstanding facts in the history of the Church of Scotland, the course of which has left its mark not only on Presbyterianism the world over but also on Scottish character. In 1560, the First General Assembly of the Reformed Church in Scotland was held. In 1567, this Reformed Church was established by law and its jurisdiction defined. The period 1584–1688 was characterised by a struggle between the Presbyterian and Episcopal principles of church government, eventuating in the complete triumph of the Presbyterian system. In 1690, an Act of Parliament gave the Scottish Church for a few years freedom from the evils of patronage. In 1693, another act not only reaffirmed the Westminster Confession as the doctrinal standard of the church but also legislated that this provision should be "for all time," and required subscription thereto by all ministers of the kirk. In 1707, an Act of Security, passed prior to the union of England and Scotland, provided that the Church of Scotland should continue to be recognized as the established church in that country, but in 1711 patronage was again restored by law, and this led to a series of secessions.

Secessions from the Establishment

(1) The Associate Synod of the Secession Church was formed in 1733. The grievances of these seceders included not only the intrusion of unpopular ministers, but also *inter alia* "the repeal of the act against witchcraft, thereby dethroning God's word." This group itself broke in twain a few years later, 1747, into the Burghers and the Anti-burghers. The latter schism was occasioned by the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and the subsequent insistence by the government that all persons who wished the recognition of their status as "Burghers" should take the following oath:

> "Here I protest before God and your Lordship, that I profess and allow with my heart the true religion presently professed within this realm and authorized by the laws thereof; I shall abide thereat and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion called papistry."

The Burgher party within the Secession Church was willing to take the oath on the ground that it did not involve any approval of the defects of the Established Church, but was primarily directed against Roman Catholicism; the Anti-burghers, on the other hand, claimed that in taking the oath they would admit an allegiance to the Established Church, errors and all. Both of these groups broke still later into New Light and Old Light factions and into some other splits of less significance, but the New Light Burghers and the New Light Anti-burghers came together in 1820 to form the United Secession Church of Scotland. A non-concurring minority, however, continued independently as the Original Secession Church.

(2) In 1743 a Reformed Presbytery was organized on the one hundredth anniversary of the Solemn League and Covenant, and as the culmination of the formation of a number of formerly unrelated societies which stressed the importance of "none but a Covenanting sovereign on the throne."

(3) In 1761 a Relief Presbytery of Gillespie was organized, in protest against the evils of patronage. This Relief Church united with the United Secession Church (see above) to form the United Presbyterian Church in 1847.

(4) In 1843 came the great Disruption and the creation of the Free Church of Scotland. This split was due, once again, to the evils of patronage. When the Evangelical party in the Established Church had attained a dominant strength, it tackled the patronage issue afresh and succeeded in passing through the General Assembly, in 1834, the Veto Act, which provided that the minister presented by a patron was not to be instituted unless approved by a majority of the heads of families in the congregation. The patrons took a test case to the Court of Session which pronounced the Veto Act *ultra vires* of the church, and the president of the court stated its position frankly thus:

> "The temporal head of the Church is Parliament from whose Acts alone it exists as the National Church and from which alone it derives all its powers."

The church then appealed to the House of Lords against this decision, but the Lords sustained the Court of Session. As a result, 451 out of 1,203 ministers walked out and with an equal number of elders established the "Free Church of Scotland." Litigation followed involving a total debt of 30,000 pounds sterling. Although Parliament eventually abolished patronage in 1874, the Free Church maintained a separate existence until 1900, when the vast majority of its churches united with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, formed in 1847, in a new church which was called the United Free Church of Scotland. A group of the Free Churches, however, maintained their separate existence and the original name until the present time.

In 1929 the Church of Scotland united with the United Free Church, but not before it had secured, in 1921, from the Imperial Parliament the famous Declaratory Act which was an acknowledgment on the part of the Parliament of the complete spiritual independence of the church.

The causes of these various secessions are reasonably clear.

(1) PATRONAGE: In the first place, so long as Presbyterianism in Scotland was bound in matters of inner economy by Parliament, so long were protests inevitable. Before the Declaratory Act of 1921 was passed, a writer in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* felt free to state:

> "It is needless to add that popular election and democratic government notwithstanding, the Scottish Established Church is, like its English sister, a creature of the State and absolutely subject to it; and nothing in its Parliamentary creed can be changed except with the sanction of the authority to which it owes its existence. . . . The passionate claim made by a section of the Scottish Presbyterians to spiritual independence is as ludicrous as it is pathetic. Their church enjoys exactly as much independence—neither less nor more—as may be conceded to it by the State which created and upholds it."

While some might object to this statement even in its pre-1921 application, the Declaratory Act of the Imperial government has now "conceded" to the church complete spiritual independence.

The yoke of bondage to the state was most felt in the matter of patronage, in the struggles with the episcopacy and in the faith of the Covenanters that none but a covenanting king should truly rule in Scotland. But patronage was the perennial bone of contention, although it is well to remember that in the Established Church of Scotland it had existed from 1561 to 1690, and again from 1712 to 1874; in short, in the whole history of the Established Church of Scotland, the unqualified right of call has been in existence only eighty years against two hundred and ninety-one years of patronage. The prolonged struggle against this alleged evil has undoubtedly been an important factor in the Presbyterian emphasis today on the freedom of the congregation to call its own minister, whereas in Congregationalism this emphasis arose more simply and more naturally out of the Congregational theory of the complete autonomy of the local church. Men prize, perhaps sometimes unduly, what they must struggle to obtain.

(2) TEMPERAMENTAL DIFFERENCES: The differences on the whole were temperamental rather than doctrinal. No one seemed to object to the West-

minster Confession of Faith because Parliament had written it into the creed of the nation for all time to come. The only serious objections to the Confession were to those sections dealing with the right of the civil magistrate to interfere with the discipline of the church, and later to certain references to the Pope as the "Man of Sin." But such differences as arose were due to the protests against the State-Church relationship and were accentuated by varieties of temperament. Within the bosom of the church were two outstanding parties—the Moderates and the Evangelicals. The Moderates did not take their religion too seriously, were latitudinarian, enjoyed the social prestige of their ecclesiastical position and the opportunity it afforded at times for the cloistered life of study, while the Evangelicals took their faith more passionately, and dwelt under the shadow of the Judgment of the Lord upon all flesh. Successive secessions drew off the Evangelicals one after the other until had it not been for the Great Awakening of the latter years of the eighteenth century which swept over all Protestantism in Europe and America, the Church of Scotland, like its sister establishment in England, might have died of spiritual anaemia. As it was, the great missionary impulse in Scotland emerged in the secessionist circles, and not at first within the Established Church whose General Assembly, as late as 1796, declared:

> "To spread abroad among barbarians and heathen natives the knowledge of the Gospel seems to be highly preposterous in so far as it anticipates, nay even reverses, the order of nature."

and it was not the Church of Scotland, but the secessionist churches, that first felt a responsibility for settlers of the Presbyterian faith in the Maritime provinces and in the Canadas, and sent missionaries.

(3) CONSERVATISM: A third fact to be remembered is that Scottish secession, at least in the eighteenth century and prior to the Disruption of 1843, was essentially conservative in its character. A not over-generous critic of this group within the church has said:

> "It is the peculiarity of Scottish dissent that it never arose from love of change, from any breaking forth of new views and opinions. It was rather a determination to preserve more purely the creed and habits of their fathers. In fact, radical as Scottish temperament is called, it was not then the radicalism of those who upset old institutions and seek out new paths; it was really a conservatism as keen as that of the Jacobite in resistance to change, whether in dress, in farming, in social customs, or in theology and worship."[1]

The sociologically-minded may pause here almost indefinitely in an effort to locate the motivation of such conservatism, and he may, perhaps, find some light in the analogy between the relation of Scotland to England and the relation of Canada to the United States. The population of both Scotland and Canada is small when contrasted with that of England and the United States respectively; both of these countries have found it needful to exercise thriftiness and they look askance at the extravagance of their southern neighbors; both of these countries have ardently wished to preserve their own culture from being swamped by an "alien" culture; both conservatisms are, in part at least, rooted in this fear of cultural absorption. The result, however, is a type of character that chews its intellectual cud and, when it has made up its mind, refuses to budge.

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[1] H. Grey Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: A. & C. Black, 1928).

In addition to these references to Scottish history, it is also necessary to remember that the course of Presbyterian history in Ireland was, in a similar way, troubled by difficulties, first, with the state, represented in the Established Church of England and Ireland; and secondly, with the Roman Catholics. Out of these acrimonious controversies there developed a temper which was, perhaps, even more tenaciously conservative than that of the church in Scotland. One writer has said: "Some sweetness and light may have been forfeited by the church (i.e., in Ireland) in her troubled life, but the rugged strength which has been maintained is of far greater moment."[2] Persecution produces, in addition to martyrs, either saints or warriors; in Ireland it at least produced warriors; and something of the spirit of Irish Presbyterianism was found in Canada, as the course of the Church Union movement there revealed.

Opposition to Union

An appreciation of these backgrounds of Canadian Presbyterianism is fundamental to an understanding of the difficulties which, for a long time, blocked the course of the advocates of church union, 1902-1925. The fear that the congregation might lose the right to select its own minister reflected the long struggle over patronage; the formation of the United Church as a legal corporation by Parliament aroused in some a latent opposition to what was conceived to be an improper relationship between Church and State, and a limitation to the powers of a voluntary religious association; a certain group of Irish Presbyterians seemed to sense in the proposed merger the possibility of a "religio-political" machine which might be as ruthless as the "popery" which they had fought for centuries. At all events, however real or illusory the dangers, those opposed to union did not hesitate to appeal to Scottish and Irish traditions of this character to "save the faith," and the response to this appeal surprised their opponents. But the appreciation of these backgrounds of Canadian Presbyterianism is also necessary to an understanding of its development, and to an evaluation of its temper.

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[2] J. N. Ogilvie, *The Presbyterian Churches of Christendom* (London: A. & C. Black, 1925).

In the Maritimes

To return, therefore, to Canadian history, it has been pointed out that the first Presbyterian missionaries in the Dominion came to the Maritimes and were drawn from the ranks of the Secessionists. The Presbytery of Truro, the first to be formed in Canada, was constituted in 1786 and was Burgher. The Presbytery of Pictou, the next to be formed, was constituted in 1795, and was Anti-burgher. These two presbyteries combined in 1817 in the first significant Presbyterian union, to form a Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Nova Scotia, and anticipated a similar union of Burghers and Anti-burghers in Scotland by three years. The newly formed synod was divided into three presbyteries, and of the nineteen clergymen whose names appear on the roll, fourteen had been connected with Secession churches, three with the Established Church of Scotland, and two with the English Independent Church. Only four Presbyterian ministers in the territory did not come into this union. A committee was appointed to correspond with the Associate Synod in Scotland, to inform them of the consummation of the union and to ask the privilege of continued correspondence. The Associate Synod, when informed of these proceedings, expressed the opinion that they were "such as this Synod can cordially acknowledge the brethren in Nova Scotia as a sister church"; and further it expressed a willingness "to coöperate with them in promoting the great interests of the gospel, and of the Presbyterian government of the church, in that part of the world." In the overtures made prior to this union, it had been stated:

> "that we look on it as a happy circumstance in our situation that there is here no foundation for those local controversies which have occasioned separation and division in Scotland, and that in our situation and circumstances the bar is so far removed that ministerial, brotherly and Christian intercourse and communion may take place consistently with the truths of the gospel." [3]

It is also significant that these pioneer churches and ministers felt themselves sufficiently independent to consummate the union first and to inform the Scottish churches of their decision afterwards.

Meanwhile, representatives of the Church of Scotland were at work in the Maritimes and the work of this church received greater momentum with the formation of the Glasgow Colonial Society in 1825, the purpose of which was

> "to assist British settlers in the colonies to provide themselves with the means of religious improvement. The Society shall not grant pecuniary aid, except there shall be first an application from the settlers themselves, or on their behalf,

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[3] Quoted in Wm. Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Joseph Perry Clougher, 1905), p. 133.

accompanied with an engagement on their part to such an extent as, in the peculiar circumstances of each case, they appear necessary to a majority of the directors."

Some of the ministers connected with the already organized Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Nova Scotia (formed 1817) feared that these activities, however, might disturb the unity of the church that had been secured, and memorialized the Glasgow society to that effect. Missionaries were sent, notwithstanding, and a synod was formed in Nova Scotia, in 1833, and a presbytery in New Brunswick in the same year. This new synod in Nova Scotia was joined, in 1840, by St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, and by the Dutch Reformed Church at Lunenberg, both of which had up to this time remained independent.

Then came the Disruption in Scotland in 1843. Patronage did not exist in Canada, and so the main factor in the Scottish quarrel was lacking; but the question arose whether these synods were to receive their ministers from the Church of Scotland or from the new Free Church. A Free Church deputation visited the colonies, and one of the Canadian ministers, who was visiting Scotland in 1843, came back thrilled with the controversy and insistent that the colonies should have a sympathetic disruption of their own! A number of ministers connected with the Church of Scotland, but serving in the colonies, hurried back to the motherland at once to fill the parish pulpits left vacant by the withdrawal of the Free Churchmen. Of those who were left in Nova Scotia, only three remained loyal and the synod consequently became a synod of the Free Church, while the minority were able to reconstitute themselves a Synod in Connection with the Church of Scotland only in 1854. In New Brunswick the synod maintained its Scottish connection, and the non-concurring minority formed a synod of the Free Church.

Thus, there were now three major strands of Presbyterianism in the Maritimes—the earliest synod, independent but mostly secessionist or union; the synods of the Free Church; and the synods of the Church of Scotland. In 1860, the first two came together in an organic union, and so when the Canadian provinces were federated, in 1867, there were only two major streams left in this area—those connected with the Church of Scotland and those that were not. There was, to be sure, another little "rivulet," which had its origin in 1827 and was related to the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland, but this was small and comparatively uninfluential. It kept to itself until after the main bodies of Presbyterianism throughout Canada were organically united in 1875, and then it quietly, but not without some gurglings, lost itself in the mightier river.

In the Canadas

A somewhat similar course was followed by Presbyterianism in Upper and Lower Canada. These beginnings are more difficult to trace. A Church of Scotland chaplain with the troops in the American Revolutionary War later came to Canada and founded a Presbyterian church in Montreal in 1790, which was attached to the Presbytery of Albany, N. Y. When he had founded other churches at Quebec and Glengarry, these three churches were detached from the Presbytery of Albany and became, in 1795, the Presbytery of Montreal, which, however, never seemed to function. It was resurrected for a special purpose of ordination in 1803, and then ceased to be.

In Ontario, the Dutch Reformed Church, through its classis of Albany, had sent missionaries as early as 1798, and a consistory had been organized; but after the war of 1812, its missionary withdrew from the classis, and joined the newly-formed Presbytery of the Canadas, which had been constituted in 1818, and became, in 1831, the United Synod of Upper Canada. The Presbytery of the Canadas was largely composed of Secessionist ministers who had organized more or less independent churches in various pioneer settlements.

Presbyterian churches appeared in the Niagara peninsula as early as 1791. Most of these were started by ministers from the United States and in 1833 a Niagara Presbytery was formed, but it was not connected with any synod either in Canada or in the United States until 1850, when it joined the Synod of the Free Church of Canada.

In 1822 the Associated Reformed Church of the United States (formed by the union of the Reformed Presbyterian and most of the Associate ministers in 1782) despatched missionaries to this same territory, and these were able to constitute still another presbytery in 1836, which was called the Presbytery of Stamford. Most of these churches were absorbed later in the Synod of the Free Church, but a church at Galt remained true to its American affiliation until 1907, while the mother church at Stamford still retains a connection with the United Presbyterian Church in the United States.

The formation of the Glasgow Colonial Society gave the same momentum to the work of the Church of Scotland in the Canadas that it did in the Maritimes, and here too a synod was formed, in 1831. At this time the representatives of the Church of Scotland were bringing pressure on the government to bestow grants for their work similar to those which were being provided for the Church of England through the Clergy Reserves, and they used the Establishment of the Church in Scotland as a reason for such consideration of their ecclesiastical rights; they also sought the coöperation of other Presbyterians in securing these grants, and urged them to unite with them for these and other reasons.

Those connected with the United Presbytery, constituted in 1818, most of whom were Secessionists, also importuned the government for similar help for their churches, and the government replied suggesting that all the Presbyterian clergy of the province form a presbytery or synod which should submit the names of those to whom the grants might be made; in this way the government could deal with one body and provide the desired relief. The United Presbytery took first steps in 1831 in accordance with this advice, constituted itself a synod, made further memorials to His Majesty, and then in 1833 declared that a union of Presbyterians in the Canadas was highly desirable *"if attainable on scriptural grounds."* They also appointed a committee to negotiate with the newly-constituted Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, with a view to union.

While these negotiations were pending, some of their ministers withdrew and went over to the Church of Scotland, where they were able to enjoy the flesh-pots of the Clergy Reserves for a season. Another withdrew because he disapproved of the church seeking any help from the government, but in spite of pressure of this character, other obstacles delayed the actual union of the two synods. The main difficulty was the refusal of the Church of Scotland to recognize as a member of a presbytery or synod any one who had not been ordained by a presbytery of that church. In 1840, however, the two synods united, at which time there were sixty settled ministers in connection with the Church of Scotland and sixteen in connection with the United Synod—seventy-six in all. (This was the same year in which a somewhat similar union took place in Ireland.) The new association took the name of "The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland." *It was formed just in time to experience the full shock of the Disruption in Scotland, in* 1843.

The Canadas, of course, had to have a disruption too. The majority of the synod remained loyal and voted sixty-eight ministers to twenty-three, but the non-concurring minority went out in 1844 and formed a Free Church synod. In not a few communities, the Church of Scotland was only a few years old and in certain cases engaged in constructing its first edifice, but a large number walked out and built a second church. Often they took their minister with them, or the minister took them, and in at least one instance[4] the minister took the records of the church with him. These were kept in his family and only returned to the church to which they properly belonged in 1930, eighty-five years later. The Disruption is also responsible for the fact that in many of the larger towns and smaller cities of Canada one might still find, as late as 1925, two Presbyterian churches usually within a short distance of each other—sometimes across the corner—but, generally speaking, appealing to a different clientele. Even in the later consolidation of Canadian Presbyterianism in 1875, these churches did not to any large degree consolidate locally. Those who continued to belong to the Auld Kirk tended to be Conservative in politics and of long-established social position; those who attended the lineal descendant of the Free Church were Liberal in politics, a trifle warmer in their religious enthusiasms and not infrequently drawn from the middle classes.

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[4] Stratford, Ont., St. Andrew's.

There was still another stream of Presbyterianism in the Canadas to which attention must be drawn. Following the union of the Burghers and the Anti-burghers in Scotland in 1820, the United Secession Church organized a Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas, which continued to support work in Canada until 1861 when it united with the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church in Canada to form the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church.

The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland also sought some foothold in the Canadas, but their labors proved abortive, and the membership of their small churches was absorbed in the other churches. The only church in Canada which calls itself a Reformed Church today is in Toronto, and is entirely independent of any presbytery or synod. It arose out of a schism in Cooke's Church, when the new organ was installed. Those who did not approve of the "kist of whustles" went out and formed a church to which they called a foot-loose minister from Pittsburgh. He created a presbytery of three churches—Toronto, Teeswater and Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh church died; the Teeswater church later entered the Presbyterian Church in Canada; only the Toronto church survives.

After 1861

After 1861, both in the Maritime provinces and in the Canadas, there were only two important types of Presbyterianism—those who were connected with the Church of Scotland and those who were not. After the Confederation of the Canadian Provinces in 1867, it was apparent that a further union was inevitable, but instead of effecting two separate mergers on a territorial basis as a preliminary to a still larger merger, the four parts of the church came together in 1875 to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Legislation was required in the various provinces to enable individual congregations that may have been bound by their trust-deeds to enter the new union, but the Presbyterian Church in Canada was never formally incorporated as a unit, although in 1882 a Board of Trustees for the Presbyterian Church in Canada—and later several other boards—were incorporated to facilitate the holding of property, real and personal. A number of churches connected with the uniting bodies, however, refrained from entering the union, and in this insistence on the right to dissent, Presbyterianism ran true to form. Some Free churches in Ontario which did not come into the union of 1875 maintained a separate existence until their earthly tabernacle was dissolved and the cause died. Most of the non-concurring churches in connection with the Church of Scotland, however, were for the most part in the Maritime provinces. They were sufficiently numerous to form two presbyteries, but one by one the constituent churches found their way into the newly-formed Presbyterian Church in Canada until in one of these presbyteries only one church was left, that of St. Andrew's, Pictou. The other presbytery thereupon changed its name to the Presbytery of Pictou and included St. Andrew's. As the ministers died, or the churches withdrew, this presbytery also slowly dissolved until it was reinforced by certain ministers who were serving in McDonaldite churches in Prince Edward Island.

These McDonaldites are called after their founder, Donald McDonald, who came to Canada in 1818. He had been duly ordained in the Church of Scotland, but came to Canada with no specific commission. At one time he had been a heavy drinker, but when he reformed he was the means of gathering a great many people about him whom he reclaimed and to whom he furnished a more emotional type of religion than was to be found in the more conventional churches. When he died, he left these churches to the care of the Church of Scotland. There are still three parishes of this group extant in Prince Edward Island, with perhaps a dozen preaching stations, but only one minister.[5] The Central Parish recently made an overture to the Church of Scotland asking for permission to unite with the continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada, but the authorities of the Church of Scotland, after examination, decided that there was no church, or churches, in Canada "in connection with the Church of Scotland," and simply advised them to unite with "one of the Canadian churches." These churches are the "rump" of the non-concurrents of 1875, and as will be seen, the position of this presbytery is somewhat anomalous, and there are some evidences that there is not a complete harmony existing between the three parishes.

Presbyterianism was now a unit, although many of its denominational societies, annuity funds, etc., were still maintained on the former sectional lines, and there was no such effort to consolidate these various organizations in one piece of denominational machinery as the Methodists made after their similar union in 1884. There was also certain litigation over one of the funds of the church—the Temporalities Fund of the Presbyterian Church of Canada—which was carried to the Privy Council, as it involved the respective authorities of the new provinces which had been confederated in 1867. There were local consolidations, but as has been intimated above, these came slowly and in many cases not at all. *But the tendencies to disintegration were definitely checked, and the Presbyterian churches were sufficiently united to present an unbroken front when the opening of western Canada thrust upon them an unprecedented challenge for missionary effort.* Some churches which had already been started in the West now had behind them the united force of Canadian Presbyterianism, and a man was at hand, the Rev. James Robertson, D.D., who was to leave the mark of his forceful personality on the ecclesiastical life of the prairie provinces.

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[5] In addition, a clergyman in Cambridge, Mass., acts as assessor.

From 1875 until 1902 the history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada was one of steady growth and ever increasing prestige. While it suffered, like the Methodists, by the migration of the people from the East to the West, it was greatly benefited by the immigration from Scotland, and even people of other communions who went west and found themselves without the church of their fathers slipped easily into a Presbyterian church as a congenial communion. Even Presbyterians, however, felt the burden of the challenge of the West, as the pre-union negotiations for coöperation in this task, which they initiated in 1898, testify. But Presbyterianism, at the turn of the century, did not suffer, as did Methodism, from the collapse of the revivalistic emphasis; the churchmanship of Presbyterians was fundamentally rooted in a different principle which enabled them to adapt themselves more easily to the newer interpretations of the Bible, imported in the persons of outstanding professors from Scottish universities and always couched in evangelical terminology. Then, in 1902, came the challenge to a larger church union across denominational lines, and a factional fight the outcome of which must be considered in our history of the Church Union movement itself.

One should add, in passing, that Canadian Presbyterianism, on account of its fissiparous growth, seldom produced in the East anything approaching the parish system of the Church of Scotland. Indeed, the only non-Roman denomination that actually achieved this was the Church of England, whose churches today have been planted in every Canadian city with a view to their parochial responsibilities, although communicants tend to ignore these parish lines and to attend whatever church takes their fancy. The various Presbyterian churches, before the consolidation in 1875, seemed to be mainly concerned in securing the best available site in town wherever that was.

Moreover, sometimes within the same section of the church, difficulties of a factional character arose. In Woodstock, Ont., the minister of the Free Church did not understand Gaelic; what is more, he refused to allow any one who did understand Gaelic to preach for him in his church. The result was a local secession in 1852 and the establishment of a Gaelic Presbyterian Church, which later became Chalmers Presbyterian Church. In St. John, N. B., nearly a hundred years ago, when a new minister was being installed at St. Andrew's, the auld kirk, an indiscreet elder remarked that one thing was certain: no Irishman would ever be the minister of that church. Some Irish overheard the remark, got together, purchased a defunct Baptist church, and organized St. John's Church, where Irish people could call a minister of their own and to their own satisfaction. In Rodney, Ont., most of the people came from the isle of Lewis in the Scottish Highlands, and they all spoke Gaelic. They imported, however, a purely local difference and each faction in this small community erected a church to perpetuate the old disagreement. In the city of Guelph, the minister who started the Auld Kirk was given to excessive drinking, and in 1835 some of his people abandoned the church and uniting with a few Baptists and independents formed the Congregational Church in that city. In Guelph again, in 1861, another factional dispute arose in the Knox Free Church. The views and policies of the minister proved the bone of contention. An influential group withdrew and erected another large church, Chalmers, on the same side of the street as Knox and practically next door. Both churches continued in this relative position—it would have been simple for the two congregations to sing antiphons—until 1925, when one went into The United Church of Canada and the other stayed out. In Embro, the centre of a Highland settlement called Zorra, revival services in the Auld Kirk led to an unexpected enthusiasm in 1870, and when an effort was made to restrain the over-evangelical, they withdrew and later sought affiliation with the Congregationalists.

It is in episodes of the character described above that one finds a certain genius for division and an emphasis on individualism. Similar tendencies might perhaps be found in the history of Canadian Methodism, but on the whole Methodism moved with greater unanimity and more machine-like precision. Some attribute this to the more centralized authority of the Methodist Church, but it may be that the real reason is racial. The Methodists were for the most part of English extraction, and every non-Anglo-Saxon race in the world seems ready to admit the fundamental genius of English people for team-play and coöperation.

The differences imported from Scotland, however, proved of no real pertinence to colonial life, and Presbyterianism was able to pull itself together and soon constituted perhaps the most influential Protestant denomination in the Dominion—influential in scholarship, in general culture, in numbers, in the wealth and economic success of its members. At all events, they had reason to believe that such was their assured position and they faced the future hopefully. Since 1902 some of the Scottish immigrants into Canada had belonged to the Free Church (Wee Frees) and in a number of communities where they settled—Toronto, Fort William, Winnipeg, etc.—they organized churches of this order which still maintain a separate existence. These churches, however, are very small and gain some measure of support today because they still conduct some of their services in Gaelic. In 1925 the only Presbyterian churches not in communion with the Presbyterian Church in Canada were the McDonaldite churches in Prince Edward Island, one Reformed Presbyterian church in Toronto, a United Presbyterian church in Stamford, near Niagara, and four or five Wee Free churches in various parts of the Dominion.

Summary

It is not necessary for the purposes of this report to trace the development of other Protestant denominations in Canada, such as the Lutherans, Mennonites, Adventists, etc., for church union in its various stages only concerned the five major groups considered above. Moreover, the other bodies were either so widely scattered as to prevent any coördination of their forces or else were limited to activities in definite communities. Thus, in the West there has been no little "block" settlement under government approval, the most notable examples being the Doukhobor communities and certain other areas settled under the direction of Catholic priests acting officially as colonizing agents.

The survey of the growth of the Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian communions, as presented, shows clearly both the centrifugal and centripetal forces which operated in Canadian Protestantism.

(a) The differences were for the most part imported either from the motherland or from the United States, and were reflected in the inherited differences and connections of the settlers who came from different countries or from different districts in the same country.

With the exception of the Baptists, the general tendency in the Canadian denominations has been in the direction of integration as the differences have been recognized as foreign and of no pertinence to Canadian life. Moreover, Canada has not been the birthplace of new sects, unless we are to except certain holiness movements which were hived off from Methodism, and the institutions which have grown around Canadian-born personalities such as Dr. A. B. Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and Aimee Semple Macpherson, both of whom exercised their leadership most largely in the United States. Canada has known few heresy trials, and theological radicalism did not find there a congenial soil. Unitarianism has always been negligible, little understood or little cared about one way or the other, by the majority of Canadians. The rigidities of Calvinism were softened by theological influences from Scotland; Methodism in the early decades of the twentieth century had surrendered its revivalistic fire for a social gospel, largely under the influence of a similar movement in American Methodism; Congregationalism was hostile to all creedal formulation, but still its theology was in no apparent way different from that of other evangelical bodies. The fundamentalist issue created more trouble for the Baptists than for any other denomination, and although the outstanding leader of Baptist fundamentalism today is English-born, the American influence in this movement was manifest. Fundamentalism is more important in British Columbia and the Far West where the channels of communication are more directly with the neighboring states of Washington and Oregon. The prevailing temper of the Canadian is liberal-conservative, and Canadians generally tend to regard fundamentalism as a by-product of the American mind, and as exotic in Canada as Unitarianism.

(b) The struggle over the Clergy Reserves, moreover, also contributed to the development of a "solidarity in protest" among the non-Anglicans, while the ultimate solution of that problem forced upon the Church of England in Canada the necessity for the greater enlistment of the laity, both in giving and in control, and the upbuilding of a type of church organization suited to the needs of the colony.

(c) The consolidation of Protestant denominations in Canada was also, of course, largely hastened by the political development of the country and the transformation of a group of several dependent and unrelated colonies into a self-governing confederation within the Empire. Confederation had much to do with the creation of better means of transportation, provisions for which were included in the terms upon which the various provinces united. Greater facilities in travel brought the Dominion together, and were soon followed by the linking up of the various synods or conferences in the same general denomination but in distant parts of the country, in one nation-wide organization.

(d) At the very beginning, Canadian churches were for the most part supplied with ministers or financial support from outside the country, and to some degree these missionary organizations not only paid the piper but called the tune. Still, to a remarkable extent and perhaps in large measure because of their isolation, the churches soon asserted their independence from these various entangling controls, and thus free to act, moved steadily towards consolidation. This independence was accentuated by the early efforts, more successful in some denominations than in others, to develop a Canadian-born ministry.

(e) Then again, there was the challenge of the Great West, opened up by the Canadian Pacific Railway, resulting in the movement of many settlers not only from the East but also from Europe and the United States. Had the East at this time been populous or wealthy, the denominations might have been satisfied to go on as they were, depending upon an adequate home base for their propaganda. Given, however, a limited home base, the task was too exacting and some of the smaller denominations all but gave up the effort. Even the larger and more closely articulated churches soon had reason to doubt the propriety of breaking small communities into rival religious groups while the young students who went west in the summers to conduct services felt in a peculiar way the uneconomical and inefficient character of such competition. It seemed to them of doubtful value, if not contrary to the divine will, to pour the molten religious life of the prairies into denominational moulds, and eventually their fears became vocal and their demands insistent.

(f) Finally, in the background, felt unconsciously if not always consciously, was the highly organized system of Roman Catholicism dominant on the banks of the St. Lawrence—itself somewhat divided, to be sure, between the French-speaking and the English-speaking, but still holding the allegiance of 40 per cent. of the Canadian population. What could a divided Protestantism achieve in the presence of such power and apparent solidarity?

The social conditions were thus unique in the Protestant world, and most favourable to the consolidation of Protestant denominations. It was but natural that if experimentation in Protestant unity was to take place, Canada should lead the way.

CHAPTER IV

Growth of Protestant Coöperation in Canada

While the various denominations were thus effecting their inner consolidation, the coöperative movement across all denominational lines went on apace within Canadian Protestantism. To be sure, Canada never evolved a Federal Council of Churches, although in 1894, the very year in which a Federal Union of Churches had been formed in the United Kingdom, the Methodist Church, Canada, proposed a Federal Court for Canada. In the United States the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ was not organized until 1908. Between 1894 and 1908 the movement for organic church union was launched in Canada, and this made the champions of such a movement impatient with what might seem to be half-way measures. Consequently, Protestant coöperation in Canada, prior to the church-union movement, was limited to specific functions, most of which were performed by associations of individuals and not through delegates or representatives officially appointed by denominations. On the whole, the course of Protestant coöperation in Canada closely resembles that in the United States, although there are a few outstanding differences and to these differences attention will be particularly drawn in this chapter.

Union Churches

It will be remembered that the first non-Anglican church organized in Canada was the Protestant Dissenters' Chapel at Halifax, which dates back to 1749. This afterwards became St. Matthew's Presbyterian Church, but at its inception it was attended by both Congregationalists and Presbyterians, and was regarded as a union church. In later times union churches might be found in all the Canadian provinces and these arose out of the exigencies of pioneer life, the disparate character of the settlements and the paucity and mixed denominational loyalties of the settlers. Unfortunately, as these churches had no definite denominational affiliations, they have not preserved records from which we may deduce the extent of such a free movement. It was, however, the practice of the Dominion Department of the Census, until 1901, to provide statistics in regard to the number and distribution of all churches in the Dominion. At only one decennial census, however, namely in 1901, were statistics furnished for union churches and Sunday schools, and one is surprised to discover in the appended table that at the beginning of the twentieth century there were no less than 267 union churches in Canada and 554 union Sunday schools. Moreover, it is significant that most of these union churches were not in the Northwest Territory, but in the Province of Ontario, where no less than 70 union churches and 248 union Sunday schools are reported. These union enterprises had nothing whatever to do with the local union churches which afterwards developed, especially in the West, in connection with the church-union movement, and which in 1925 officially joined The United Church of Canada.

TABLE VII—UNION CHURCHES IN CANADA, BY PROVINCES, 1901

Province	Churches	Membership	Sittings	Sunday Schools	Officers	Pupils
British Columbia	8	16	1,206	17	63	1,026
Manitoba	47	1,243	3,414	102	506	3,574
Nova Scotia	59	2,252	10,319	58	325	2,040
New Brunswick	39	1,374	6,368	59	364	2,368
Ontario	70	2,326	10,595	248	1,636	12,019
P. E. I.	..	....	.....	6	29	255
Quebec	16	692	2,610	22	100	803
Territories	20	449	1,165	40	200	1,277
Canada (as a whole)*	267	8,524	36,782	554	3,228	21,627

* There is a disparity between the sum of the figures given in the above table for the various provinces and those given for Canada as a whole, but this disparity is inherent in the census report for 1901. In giving churches under provinces and electoral ridings, some union churches may have been classified under "various" instead of under a category of its own. While these are official government figures, their accuracy may certainly be challenged.

The census reports for this year included the distribution of these churches not only under Provinces but also under Electoral Ridings, so that in a limited number of instances it is possible to study their character. In many instances the members of the community, belonging to different churches but feeling the need of some central place of worship, erected a church building which should be available for all the people and open to ministers of every denomination. Sometimes the building was owned by a joint stock company as at Ayer's Flats, Quebec, where each subscriber of $20 received title to a vote in the corporation, a pew in the church and a stall in the sheds. As years went by the shareholders died and it became difficult to locate the heirs. Occasionally one of the denominations bought up a majority of the stock which could be located, and thus controlling the majority of the shares, transferred the property to a local church affiliated with them. In other cases one finds that the church still bears the title, "Union Church," and is still technically available to any denomination which wishes to use the building, but in practice all the people in the given community belong to one denomination and consequently the church, while open to all, is actually used only by one denomination. Within twenty-five miles of Toronto, in the County of York, there is one such church today, used only by the Mennonites but legally available to any denomination that wishes to use it. In this instance the Mennonites have bought the lot adjoining the church and erected a covered drive-shed. They own the drive-shed and the community owns the church.

In still other instances, as at Borden, P. E. I., a local committee arranges that various denominations provide the supply in rotation. The significant fact to remember, however, is that prior to the movement for organic church union in Canada there were, according to government reports, no fewer than 267 such union churches in the Dominion. It is also highly significant that there were still more union Sunday schools, namely 554. The number of these Sunday schools may have been due in part to the early work of the Canadian Sunday School Union, an organization which somewhat paralleled the work of the American Sunday School Union in the United States, although the large number of such Sunday schools in Manitoba suggests that it was due less to the promotion of any organization than to the spontaneous reaction of the settlers who wished some sort of religious instruction for their children and did not wait for the denominations to come to them.

Of course, most of these union churches listed in the census of 1901 were very small and the average membership for all of them would be only about thirty-two. Many of them must have been quietly absorbed by the regular denominations, others simply died; still others carry on today, but while the property is "union" the cause is practically linked with some particular denomination. There are still in existence, however, especially in the rural areas, a considerable number of union Sunday schools, but it is difficult to secure definite statistics about them and there would seem to be a general tendency on the part of the United Church, due to its greater manpower, its more widely spread character and its emphasis on "church union" to control the work, although property rights may not permit absorption along these lines.

Bible and Tract Societies

One of the first coöperative efforts in Canada, as in the United States, was in the work of the Bible Society. The British and Foreign Bible Society was organized in London in 1804, and one of its first efforts in that year was the publication of a Mohawk version of the gospel of St. John for the Indians settled along the Grand River Reserve in Upper Canada. Several Canadian branches were formed soon afterwards, the first authentic branch being organized at Pictou, N. S., in 1807. For a long time, however, the work in Canada was carried on exclusively by provincial organizations which were only federated in a Canadian Bible Society Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1905.

A characteristic of the Canadian work is the large number of local auxiliaries; in 1928 there were no fewer than 3,666 local branches. The local branch usually holds an annual meeting at which a committee is appointed to solicit subscriptions for the society. In recent years these collections amounted to approximately $150,000 a year. Indeed, these local branches, however sporadic, are perhaps the most universal form of Protestant coöperation throughout the Dominion. The Bible Society works through the usual methods—colportage, distributions of portions of the scriptures to immigrants, eleven Bible depositories, etc., etc. In Canada alone it distributes the scriptures in 111 languages and dialects, and sends substantial subscriptions to the parent society in England to further the larger work of that organization.

Closely related to the work of the Bible Society is that of various tract societies, one of the oldest of which is the Upper Canada Religious Tract and Book Society. This was founded in 1832, to distribute tracts and religious literature generally, and at one time was specifically interested in providing libraries for Sunday schools. Until 1910 the Upper Canada Bible Society and the Upper Canada Religious Tract and Book Society shared the same building in accordance with the terms of a gift of land made in 1845 by one of Canada's first philanthropists, Jesse Ketchum.[1] As the Sunday-school libraries were eclipsed by the rise of public libraries—the Carnegie libraries in the Dominion alone exceeded 130 in 1914—the work of the Tract Society has been of late turned to the direction of a Book Room, the promotion of colportage, the administration of a Mission to Sailors in Inland Waters (including lighthouses) and collaboration with religious tract societies in other countries, notably China. In more recent years a number of other Book Houses have been established in different cities by interdenominational societies of a somewhat strictly evangelical temper.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL WORK

In 1836 the Canadian Sunday School Union was formally organized. Its constitution stated that its purpose was, "To promote the establishment of Sunday schools wherever it is deemed practicable, and to encourage and strengthen those already in existence." It not only thus established new schools, either in connection with the regular churches or of a union character, but also sought to supply such schools with various periodicals and books. This Union was formed in Montreal but its field of activity covered all the British territory from Upper Canada to the Atlantic.

At one of the meetings of the committee of this Union, a convention of Sunday-school teachers was proposed, and in 1857 the first convention was held. Eight years later, in 1865, a second convention was held and at this time there was organized a Sunday School Association of Canada, later called the Sabbath School Association of Canada. The new association laid the emphasis on mutual counsel, while the Sunday School Union cherished a distinctly missionary purpose. Eventually, in 1887, the Sabbath School Association became the Sabbath School Association of Ontario, confining its activities to one province. At the same time, the Canada Sunday School Union became the Sunday School Union of the Province of Quebec, also confining its activities to one province. Thus, an integration of the missionary and "convention" aspects of Sunday-school work in Canada was effected and a division of labor established on territorial rather than on functional lines. In the Maritime provinces a similar organization of Sunday-school workers was formed in 1871. All these early Sunday-school associations were purely voluntary, consisting only of individuals as individuals and not as official representatives of denominations.

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[1] E. J. Hathaway, *Jesse Ketchum and His Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1929), pp. 328–335.

In 1872 the National Sunday School Convention of the United States included two Canadians on its Executive Committee, with the result that the next convention was the first international convention with twenty Canadians present. Until June, 1914, however, in spite of this international connection, all the Sunday-school work in Canada was organized exclusively on a provincial basis. Eventually, in June, 1914, the Canadian delegates to the International Sunday School Convention at Chicago constituted themselves a Canadian Council of Provincial Sunday School Associations. On September 12, 1917, during the War, this newly created council called a conference for the purpose of considering existing conditions in the organized Sunday-school work in Canada and what steps might be taken by way of improvement. At this conference, there were present, for the first time, official representatives of the Anglican, Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian Sunday-school boards, as well as members of the Canadian Council of Provincial Sunday School Associations. The result of this meeting was the organization of the Religious Education Council of Canada, which held its first meeting in Toronto, January 17, 1919. At the present time there are affiliated with this council, provincial councils in six provinces and an inter-provincial council in the Maritimes. The work of the Dominion Council consists largely in the preparation of suitable literature for work in boys' and girls' departments, while the provincial councils have the major responsibility in the strengthening of local work and the provision for leadership training.

Missions to French Canadians

It was natural that at an early date the Protestant settlers should consider themselves obligated to extend their interpretation of the Gospel to the

French Canadians, but the first efforts met with little response. In 1834, however, the church at Lausanne, Switzerland, sent out missionaries to work among the Indians, but appreciating the spiritual needs of the French Canadians, they devoted their attention not to the Indians but to the French. In 1839, the agent of the Bible Society in Montreal was successful in organizing the French Canadian Missionary Society on interdenominational lines, whose objective was, "to employ pastors, teachers, colporteurs, to open schools and mission halls, to distribute the Scriptures and other Christian literature." Collaboration in this work was secured not only from Canadian churches but also from Scotland and Switzerland. In time, however, part of the work or some of the workers came under distinctly denominational influences, the Baptists taking over the Grand Ligne Mission in 1847 and the Church of England sending one of the workers received from Switzerland to Sabrevois in the same year. In 1854, the Methodists, who had already made one unsuccessful effort nearly forty years before, organized their own work among French Canadians.

The result was that the burden of support received in Canada for the interdenominational work fell largely upon the Presbyterians, although the Congregationalists still maintained their interest in the organization. Consequently, when the Presbyterian Church in Canada was formed in 1875, it assumed full responsibility for all the work then carried on under the auspices of the Society, and the interdenominational character of the mission ceased, to the disappointment of certain French Canadians themselves and of some of the non-Presbyterian supporters. Since that time there has been little interdenominational work and the only bond uniting the French-Canadian workers has been a ministerial association and a French branch of the Evangelical Alliance. Certain aspects of the failure of Protestantism to take root in French Canada may perhaps be traced to the fact that the work has been carried on for the most part as the tail-end to the missionary activities of respective denominations, and more might have been achieved had the denominations merged their resources and freely supported a completely autonomous Protestant Church in French Canada. At all events, the French Canadians would not have felt to the same degree a menace in Protestant propaganda, not only to their religion but also to their language and their culture.

Indian Missions

There seems to be no evidence whatever that at any time in the history of Canada, prior to the Church Union movement, were coöperative enterprises carried on by Protestant denominations in their missionary efforts among the Indians. It may be said, however, that the proximity of the Indians, in Canada as in the United States, provided the first great impetus to the missionary outlook. It also provided a very great incentive to the early temperance movement. The Anglicans were the first non-Roman group to enter this field, although the Methodists followed soon after and most of the Indian work was carried on by these two denominations. The Roman Catholic Church has, however, inherited from the great days of Jesuit missions a sense of proprietorship over the spiritual destinies of the Canadian aborigines and, well-equipped with funds, permits the Protestant occupation of any Reserve to go unchallenged for only a short time. In their work among the Indians, all the major Protestant denominations as well as Roman Catholics receive definite assistance from the government, which in many instances provides the hospital or the school and pays an annual per capita grant to the denominational board, which in its turn furnishes the personnel and the administration.

Temperance Movements

The growth of the temperance movement in Canada paralleled to a very large degree that in the United States, and by a peculiar coincidence the first definite manifestations of temperance sentiment and the organization of temperance societies took place in both countries in the same year, 1827–1828. Whether Canada simply followed American precedent in this matter, or whether both movements originated in some common social situation, contemporaneous with the troubled conditions of post-Napoleonic times, deserves further research than this study permitted. It may be that behind the activity in both countries was the Methodist Episcopal Church with which the major branch of Canadian Methodism was united at the time; it may be that the original impetus in both countries came from the fresh sensitivity to social problems which characterized the great English Christian reformers of these days, notably Wilberforce, Shaftesbury, John Howard, and others; it may be that the growth in anti-slavery sentiment directed the attention of Christian peoples to other evils than slavery at approximately the same time; it may be that in both countries the advancing pioneers, coming in contact with Indians, had good reason to discover the dire effects of firewater; or, it may be that the common economic conditions following the Napoleonic wars, during which nearly all the banks in the United States were forced to close their doors, while common labor wages in Boston were barely twenty-five cents a day, provided a tragic background against which the evils of intemperance seemed all the more tragic. At all events, whiskey was one of the staples of the pioneers, and the distillery was almost invariably the first building of importance to be erected in a new community. Outside the distillery was placed a pail of whiskey with a tin dipper attached, and the passer-by was expected to help himself gratuitously. In spite of common practice, however, a revolution of sentiment began in both the United States and Canada in the latter half of 1827 and the early years of 1828. Soon there arose in Canada many temperance organizations, some of them British and some American,—among them Bands of Hope, Total Abstinence Societies, Sons of Temperance, Good Templars, Royal Templars of Temperance, etc. The W. C. T. U. was formed in Canada in 1874, the very year of its formation in the United States.

The first efforts at provincial prohibition were made in New Brunswick, under the influence of the adjoining State of Maine, but this movement soon collapsed. The fundamental difficulties confronting the advocates of prohibition in Canada were, and continue to be, implicit in the respective prerogatives of Dominion and Provincial Parliaments, vouchsafed in the British North America Act of 1867, creating the Confederation. The Dominion Parliament has authority over trade and commerce, but the Provincial Parliament has jurisdiction over property and civil rights within the province. The Privy Council, in several test cases, has adjudicated that this division of power gives the provinces the right to prevent the retail sale of spirituous liquors, but not their manufacture, which is reserved to the control of the Dominion government. Thus, whenever a province enacts a prohibitory law, it may shut up the saloons but it cannot shut up the breweries and distilleries, nor has it the legal power to prevent the importation of liquors from other provinces. Under such conditions bootlegging and rum-running seem inevitable.

In 1898 prohibition sentiment was dominant in all the provinces except Quebec. A plebiscite taken that year gave a total vote of 278,380 for prohibition and 264,693 against. The English-speaking provinces gave a majority of 108,011 for prohibition, but Quebec offset this with a majority of 94,324 against, leaving a net majority for prohibition of only 13,687. The Dominion government, therefore, deemed it imprudent to take any action and only in 1918 prohibited, as a war-time measure, and in the interests of economy, the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. These restrictions by the Dominion government were removed January 1, 1920, and between 1920 and 1925 referenda were taken in the various provinces. One by one the provinces approved government sale, until at the time of writing only Prince Edward Island remains under prohibition.

It will thus be seen that the fundamental problem in Canada was legal and involved the question of jurisdiction. This made it necessary for prohibitionists to work along national and provincial lines at the same time. Consequently we find not only provincial leagues to promote prohibition but also a Dominion Alliance, which was formed as early as 1875 and curiously enough on the call of sixteen members of the House of Commons at Ottawa. So long as the British North America Act is interpreted as hitherto, and so long as Quebec is all but unanimous against prohibition, the fight for it is waged against great odds.

Throughout, Methodists were in the forefront of the fight, in Canada as in the United States. Thus a good cross-section of the temperance movement in 1893 may be found in an analysis of 822 uniform petitions submitted to the provincial legislature of Ontario in that year, asking for a plebiscite on prohibition. The origins of these petitions were as follows:

199	Methodist Churches
77	Presbyterian Churches
32	Baptist Churches
9	Congregational Churches
7	Episcopal Churches
7	Evangelical Associations
112	I. O. G. T. Lodges
98	W. C. T. Unions
46	Sons of Temperance Divisions
29	R. T. of T. Councils
153	Township and Village Councils
20	Town Councils
6	County Councils
6	City Councils
21	Miscellaneous

Methodism, like the Salvation Army of a later day, arose in a deep concern for those whom the older churches were not reaching and who were outside the ecclesiastical pale. No denomination, further, followed the settlers in their isolated homes and knew the degradation which threatened them as did the Methodists. The itineracy system and the appointment of ministers by a settlement committee led also to a certain freedom in the espousal of causes from the pulpit, whether an influential pew-holder here or there approved or criticized. (When, in the United Church, the ministers found that they had to carry their constituency with them or else face the bitter cold of unemployment, they became, perhaps, somewhat more discreet.) Whatever the reason, the popular mind identified the Methodist Church with the prohibitionists, although Baptists, Congregationalists and most Presbyterians were no less enthusiastic in their support of the movement, and, in the common crusade against the evils of intemperance, learned to work together. All these denominations passed annual resolutions at their various connexional meetings, although in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church these resolutions were sometimes accompanied by dissents. The Anglicans, while extolling temperance as a Christian virtue, only once committeed themselves as a church—and that during the War—to national prohibition. In these efforts to secure prohibition, prominent Methodist ministers took at times a partisan attitude. Thus, in 1887, the prohibitionists, led by the Rev. Alexander Sutherland, D.D., endeavored to create a third party which combined its prohibitionist platform with anti-Romanism, "a policy deplored by many people as unwise and unjust, considering the great help given to the temperance cause by many members of the Roman Church in Canada and elsewhere."[2] This movement led to a temporary split within the ranks of prohibitionists themselves, and created trouble for those legislators, whether Liberal or Conservative, who sought to exercise influence from within their respective parties in favor of prohibition. Again, in 1902, the very year in which Church Union was launched, a provincial election took place in Ontario, and an organization called the Temperance Legislation League was started for the purpose of supporting independent political candidates. The Rev. S. D. Chown, at that time Secretary of the Department of Moral and Social Reform of the Methodist Church, Canada, and later its General Superintendent, was the president of this league. Activities of this kind were naturally resented by those who either opposed the temperance movement in itself or feared the political activities of any church. Incidents of this character created in the minds of many outside of the Methodist Church an impression of that body as a "religio-political" machine.

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[2] Ruth E. Spence, *Prohibition in Canada* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1919), p. 144.

Work for Young People

The Y. M. C. A.

The Y. M. C. A. was initiated in Canada soon after its inception in England, and in the very year when it was introduced into the United States. Associations were started in 1851 both in Montreal, P. Q., and Boston, Mass. At the inception of the Montreal Association, committees were selected from each of the evangelical denominations to solicit membership from their respective churches. The program for a time was largely of a city mission character, and included work for seamen, colportage, and hospital visitation. The first employed official was designated "city missionary." It soon became difficult, however, to carry on both club work for young men and city mission activities, although the history of the association seems to indicate a rather persistent conflict between these two conceptions of its mission. While a Congregational minister was the first president of the Montreal Association, the association here, as elsewhere, stressed from the outset its laic character, and felt itself an agency for the promotion of Christian unity by enlisting laymen of all denominations not alone in mutual helpfulness but also in service for the young man away from home and imperilled by various temptations.

The second Y. M. C. A. to be formed in Canada was organized in Halifax, in 1853, followed soon after by organizations at St. John, N. B., Kingston, Ont., and Hamilton, Ont. In this decade a federation of Y. M. C. A.'s in the United States and the British provinces was organized, and delegates from Montreal were present at its first meeting. In 1857 the federation had accepted an invitation to meet in Richmond, Virginia, and the Montreal Association, prayerfully considering "that Southern Associations which rejected Christian young men of color from membership are connected with this Federation" and thereby "assume a right inconsistent with the claims of colored Christians to sympathy and fraternal affection," withdrew from the federation. The federation later was broken up by the American Civil War, but in 1867 was reorganized and Montreal was not only represented at its meeting but acted as its host. This meeting passed resolutions calling for the "removal of the great cause of slavery—the sum of villainies."

In 1864 a Y. M. C. A. was founded in Toronto. After that the movement spread quite rapidly, its inner history paralleling in no small measure that of its fellow-organization in the United States. Canada, however, did not have the number of large cities to be found in the United States, and as the Y. M. C. A. is so largely a city movement its application to Canadian life has been attended with far greater difficulties. In 1875 only four associations in North America had organized departments of boys' work; two of these, however, were to be found in connection with the Montreal and Toronto associations. Later, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Canadian Y. M. C. A. developed a standardized program for boys' work, known as the Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests, and these were later adopted *in toto* by the Religious Education Council of Canada as its standard program.

The Y. M. C. A. instituted its first Student Association at University College, Toronto, in 1874, and at a later time student branches were established in most of the outstanding universities and colleges of the Dominion. After the War, however, the Student Association broke away, partly under the influence of British precedent and partly because the student movement was necessarily limited in the consideration of social and religious problems by an organization largely interested in promoting recreational activities and concerned for the most part with young men of the commercial classes.

Railroad work received much emphasis in the Y. M. C. A. at an early date, especially as the building of the Canadian Pacific railroad through New Ontario created a large number of divisional centers whose population depended entirely upon the railroad. Thus one finds today at such divisional centers as Capreol, Ignace, etc., a number of branches maintained by the Y. M. C. A., but supported to a considerable degree by the railroads themselves.

In 1902, there were in Ontario and Quebec alone some thirty-seven Y. M. C. A.'s, in addition to those in the Maritimes and the West. Many of these were in comparatively small towns, and carried on a very limited and precarious program. In the period 1900–1915, which witnessed the greatest expansion of the movement, many new buildings were erected and thus both the assets and the liabilities of the movement were increased. For a long time it was organized only along provincial lines, and the only unifying body was the International Committee with its headquarters in New York. The Canadian associations, however, desired a national organization of their own and consequently a National Council was organized in 1912, with headquarters in Toronto. This was most opportune, for when Canada entered the Great World War in 1914, the National Council had already been functioning for two years.

During the War, 1914–1918, the Y. M. C. A. was confronted with the task of caring for the enlisted men, which taxed its resources both of personnel and of money to the limit, and after the War was over it faced certain new problems, some of which have grown out of the Church Union movement itself. For a time it undertook special educational work among the returned soldiers, and even experimented in county work, but when the funds which had been raised for these special purposes were exhausted the program was restricted to more normal lines. Today county work is carried on at only one point in the Dominion, viz., Wentworth County, Ontario.

The Y. W. C. A.

The progress of the Y. W. C. A. has been somewhat analogous to that of the Y. M. C. A., but as elsewhere, it has found greater difficulty in raising funds and in operating an extensive and somewhat typical program in a country which boasts only half a dozen cities of more than 100,000 in population. As public schools become provided with gymnasia and swimming-pools, and as churches of various denominations build parish-houses in their effort to provide social centers for their own young people, both associations find that the available resources for their work in the average community become very slender and seek ways and means of being a correlating agency and working through existing organizations instead of engaging in new building enterprises. Notable work is thus done in Winnipeg and West Toronto. In recent years Canada has evolved a few interesting experiments where buildings have been erected and occupied jointly by the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., especially in the smaller cities, e.g., St. Catherines, Windsor and St. John. The major difficulty is to be found in the dual management and the dual staffs. Such buildings tend to develop a "dual personality" as well. However, this experiment, born possibly of economic necessity, deserves careful study as a possible method by which the social life of a community can be provided under distinctly Christian auspices, without incurring the economic waste involved in erecting a number of competing parish-houses, which the churches are frequently unable either to equip or to operate on any adequate basis. An actual fusion of the two enterprises in some communities under a combined management would seem to be the next experiment.

The Christian Endeavor Society

The Christian Endeavor Society spread rapidly in Canada in the 'nineties, and Canadians felt some pride in the fact that its founder, the Rev. F. E. Clark, D.D., was Canadian-born. It developed many local unions and was at one time a strong influence in binding the young people together. Its headquarters, however, were in Boston, and the uniform programs were made in the United States and not capable of being correlated with the work of the various denominations. Gradually the denominations took the reins in their own hands and converted these societies into strictly denominational organizations. Perhaps the most significant piece of young people's work in the churches between 1895 and 1914 was developed in the Methodist Church and in such a way that this department became in a very large measure the agency of the church for the recruiting and support of foreign missionaries. The Christian Endeavor Society is still organized in Canada, but the larger denominations pay little attention to it.

Evangelical Alliance

Among the various organizations that found a place in Canadian life was the Evangelical Alliance. The parent society was organized in London, England, August, 1846, a date of utmost significance to all students of Protestant coöperation. The movement seems to have originated in the vast social changes which precipitated the revolution of 1848, the Chartist movements, and the industrial unrest of the time, and to have evolved out of the feeling among churchmen of the evangelical persuasion that Christianity was not exerting, as it should, a moral and spiritual force on the life of the day. Its original aim was, "to bring individual Christians into closer fellowship and coöperation, on the basis of the spiritual union which already exists in the vital relation of Christ to the members of His body in all ages and countries." Its principal activities were threefold: (1) The promotion of united prayer, especially through the Week of Prayer; (2) the promotion of religious liberty both by correspondence with foreign branches and with those imprisoned for conscience' sake, e.g., in Armenia, Italy, Spain, etc., and (3) the promotion of "conferences" for "fellowship and interchange of thought in the discussion of fundamental truths and prominent religious and social questions."[3] The second of these methods made the movement extremely suspicious of, and on the alert against, any repressive measures initiated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, a tendency which has characterized the organization in England to the present time, one of its latest activities being directed against alleged ecclesiastical coercion in Malta. It would not seem, however, that anti-Catholicism was necessarily implicit in the original motivation of the movement, or that it was thus, in a sense, the repercussion of the evangelicals of all faiths to the advancing strength of the Oxford Movement, although fuller historical research may demonstrate a clearer relationship at this point than can yet be affirmed.

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[3] From Annual Report of the Toronto Branch, 1899.

The American branch was organized in 1867, and a Toronto branch in the same year, the first activity of which was a United Service of Thanksgiving on July 1, when the Confederation of the Canadian Provinces was officially effected. The Toronto branch of the Alliance held a similar commemorative service every year afterwards, until after the turn of the century. In 1874 a Dominion Alliance was launched at a meeting held in Montreal, and the Toronto branch resolved itself into a branch of the Dominion Alliance, in 1889. Branches were also formed in several cities and in various years provincial or dominion conferences lasting several days were held. One of the most significant of these conferences was held in Montreal, in 1888, when prominent speakers were brought from the United States, among them Washington Gladden, Henry Van Dyke, John Hall and Josiah Strong. Three sessions were devoted to the following topics: Roman Catholicism in Canada, Romanism in Relation to Education, Roman Dogma a Source of Religious, Social and National Peril. This conference was held on the eve of a great controversy in the Dominion over the Jesuit estates. As one reads the minutes of the Toronto branch, its emphases become patent:

(a) It held for many years a joint interdenominational service in the city, commemorating the birthday of the Dominion of Canada.

(b) It sent out uniform topics for the Week of Prayer to all ministers, and sought to cultivate the observance of the first week of the New Year as the Week of Prayer.

(c) It not only made pronouncements in regard to alleged desecrations of the Sabbath, but even presented such complaints to officials in the Dominion and Provincial governments. In the "gay 'nineties," there were elaborate resolutions regarding Sunday street-cars, and in 1901 they protested to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier, that the 48th Highlanders, acting as escort to the Minister of Militia, entrained in Toronto on Sunday for a visit to the Pan-American Exhibition at Buffalo. About the same time, one reads in minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada of the prevailing desecration of the Lord's Day by bicyclists.

(d) It held occasional conferences on Christian unity and coöperation. At the annual meetings of the society, there are frequent references to the need of such unity, but such references are general and hardly specific. It would seem that the Alliance was looking around for something to do just as the Church Union movement was upon them.

(e) It watched for every encroachment on religious liberty in every part of the world, and especially in Canada. It protested against the return of lands to the Jesuit order in 1889 by the Province of Quebec; it grew excited over the Armenian atrocities in 1896; in 1908 and the following years it created great interest in its protest against the application of the papal decree, "Ne Temere," to the Province of Quebec, where Judge Charbonneau had ruled that by section 127 of the Quebec Civil Code, marriages between Protestants and Catholics were invalid if performed by a Protestant minister. In this connection, the Alliance circulated over 10,000 pamphlets, and helped to arouse such discussion that the matter was taken to the higher courts, where Judge Charbonneau's decision was overruled. In 1918 it passed resolutions calling for a public investigation of the discoveries of the Militia department which had raided the Jesuit novitiate at Guelph, and where it was alleged young men who were subject to conscription were being sheltered. This was the last meeting the Toronto branch held.

As one reads through the minutes of this organization, it is clear that it attracted at times some of the best minds in the evangelical churches—men like N. W. Hoyles, K. C., head of the Law School, Principals Caven of Knox and Sheraton of Wycliffe, Chancellor Burwash of Victoria, Hon. S. H. Blake and others; it is clear also that the movement had hearty support from the evangelical or low church element in the Church of England, as well as from the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Congregational denominations; but it suffered from a circumscribed program and an inability to find sufficiently great tasks to command continuous attention. When Roman Catholicism grew aggressive, the Alliance woke up; at other times it slumbered. Thus, in January, 1902, we find the following interesting minute:

> "Moved by Dr. Potts, seconded by Dr. Geikie, and resolved: that the President (Principal Caven), Principal Sheraton and Chancellor Burwash be a Committee to consider the desirability and possibility of suggesting some useful additional work in which this Branch of the Alliance may engage."

There is, however, no record of any report from this committee, and six months later came direct overtures from the Methodist Church for organic union. Consequently from this time on, the movement for Christian unity was transferred to a different plane from that on which the Evangelical Alliance was apparently stalled. At the 1903 meeting, Principal Caven, in his chairman's address, called attention to the facts of overlapping, and said:

> "I do not intend to discuss organic union, but I will refer to something that is very wrong, and that is the overlapping of churches. There are instances of small villages having five or six churches, each striving to get the same people. In New Ontario there are villages of 200 or 300 or 500 people, some of them with as many as six churches. This ought not to be and by it we are impairing real spiritual unity in the churches. I am glad to say, however, that there is a movement among certain churches to remedy this evil. It is time there was a truce among us. No regard to denominational distinctions can keep apart those who truly love the Lord."

The new movement for organic unity was overshadowing the Alliance. In 1903 Principal Caven died, and the movement became practically dormant. In January, 1904, however, an annual meeting was held, at which Archbishop Sweatman lauded the unity of action of Christians in "moral and social reforms." Dr. N. W. Hoyles, another Anglican, declared that "the Alliance was not an organization to promote unity of the churches, but one of individual Christians to testify to the unity that already binds them together." The Anglicans thus seemed anxious to avoid plunging the Alliance into an abetting of the movement for organic union. But with a definite scheme for the union of Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists, challenging the imagination of those interested in Christian unity, and with a narrow program of issuing topics for a Week of Prayer, the major resource of the Alliance, one movement had to decrease and the other to increase. The excitement over the "Ne Temere" decree provided some further lease of life, but the Alliance languished, and the War and its aftermath added the finishing touches. The last meeting of the executive was held July 2, 1918.

There is still however, a branch of the Evangelical Alliance among French-Canadian Protestants.

Anti-Catholic Organizations

At different times organizations have arisen in Canadian life whose special objective has been to watch, if not to fight, the alleged political power of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, a Protestant Defense Society was formed in the late 'eighties when the Jesuit Estates Bill was agitating the country, and in recent years a Canadian version of the Ku Klux Klan has made its appearance in various provinces. These organizations, however, were spasmodic, while the Loyal Orange Order has maintained a continuous and militant existence in Canada since 1829 and has lodges in every part of the country. As this organization is a secret and fraternal society, accurate statistics of its growth and development are not given to the public, but from comparatively recent pamphlets, the attitude of church leaders to the movement may be deduced:

> "If our religious leaders—the broad-minded men in the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican churches—would show their sympathy with the purposes of the Order, and coöperate in leading it, the condition that we indicate might very easily be brought about. . . . If there is any class of people in Canada to whom the principles of the Association should apply strongly, it is to the members of the Presbyterian and Baptist churches, and these Protestant communions have but a small representation among the members of the Order.

The reason for this is chiefly political. The Baptists and the Presbyterians are largely Liberals, and circumstances have made the majority of the Orangemen Conservatives."[4]

This self-analysis is as valuable as many reams of statistics.

Moral and Social Reform

Sunday Observance

Further coöperative enterprise was initiated in the field of social betterment. The first specific interest of Protestant churches in this area was demonstrated in their support of the temperance campaign and prohibition movement, as already described. Here the Methodist Church assumed the most aggressive leadership. Next came the formation of a Lord's Day Alliance of Canada which was organized at a conference called April 20, 1888, by authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and attended by delegates from the Methodist Conference and the Anglican Synod of Toronto, as well as by officials of the General Assembly. A constitution was not adopted by the Canadian organization, however, before March 21, 1889. Other denominations than those mentioned above soon endorsed the Alliance in official resolutions and recognized it as an organ of the churches, although the denominations did not send official representatives to serve on its directorate. The Roman Catholic Church, whose coöperation was invited, refrained from any expression of views. Between 1889 and 1899 there was no employed personnel, and the program was quite modest, limited to some agitation for Sunday laws and the creation of provincial alliances, but in 1899 a field secretary was appointed in the person of the Rev. J. G. Shearer, under whose secretaryship, which continued until 1907, the Alliance was reorganized to make a federation of provincial alliances.

Until this time, the only Sunday legislation in force in Canada was that of pre-confederation days. When the Province of Ontario passed a new Act in 1903, it was ruled *ultra vires* by the Privy Council on the ground that provinces could legislate only in civil and not in criminal matters, and the violation of the Lord's Day was a criminal offence. Consequently, the Lord's Day Act of Canada was obtained from the Dominion Parliament in 1906, during the premiership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a Roman Catholic, and remains to this day the fundamental statute in force in all the provinces. Quebec endeavored to pass a law of her own before this Dominion Act came into force, but the Quebec Act was ruled *ultra vires*.

Thus there is in Canada one uniform law governing the observance of the Lord's Day, and while it is impossible to control the freedom of motorists to go where and as they please, in perhaps no other country in the world is Sunday as scrupulously observed as in Canada. There is, to be sure, a certain latitude permitted in the various provinces, notably Quebec, since, according to an interesting decision rendered in 1923, a province can "permit" acts to be done on Sunday even though it has no power to "prohibit" them. This scrupulous observance of Sunday may account for the large attendance in city churches in the Dominion, especially in the evenings. In most places no movies are open and unless one motors or calls on friends, there is nowhere else to go on Sunday nights but to church.

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[4] *The Orange Association:* Its Origin and History, and its Mission in the Dominion of Canada.

Social Welfare

The next social issue in which the churches showed unusual interest was in the welfare of prisoners, during the early 'nineties. The impetus to this interest seems to have come from the Salvation Army, and as a result lengthy resolutions are spread on the minutes of the various church courts relative to the matter.

In the same decade, there was, in the Methodist Church, a sessional committee known as the Sociological Committee which presented a report on current social problems to the Conference. Out of its temperance activities and the work of the Sociological Committee there was created, in 1902, a separate department of the church, known first as the Department of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform, and later as the Department of Evangelism and Social Service, and the first secretary to be put in charge of this department by the General Conference held in Winnipeg (the very conference that launched the Church Union project) was the Rev. S. D. Chown, D.D., later General Superintendent of the Methodist Church. He was later succeeded by the Rev. T. Albert Moore, D.D., now Moderator of the United Church. A similar department was not launched in the Methodist Episcopal Church (U. S.) until 1908. Thus, while Canadian Methodism was profoundly influenced by the various "social gospel" emphases of American Methodism, it was perhaps the first Protestant church anywhere to create a special department charged with a concern for social and moral reform. It is not without significance that the creation of this department was opposed at the time by the Hon. N. W. Rowell and others on the high ground that social betterment was an integral part of the Christion life and could not be segregated into a special department. The work of this department was at first, however, almost wholly confined to the promotion of prohibition and later to an attack on commercialized vice, and these were its characteristic activities during the term of office of Dr. Chown, 1902-1910.

The Social Service Council

Meanwhile, the Presbyterians followed suit, creating a department of social service under the Board of Home Missions in 1907, and putting in charge the Rev. J. G. Shearer, until then the secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance. He proposed a federation of religious bodies for moral and social reform, which was effected in the same year, official coöperation being given by Anglicans, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians. The principle of the federation was that no field should be entered without the unanimous consent of constituent units. Dr. Shearer continued to be identified with the Presbyterian department until 1918, but devoted much of his time and energy to the coöperative enterprise. The new organization was first called the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada, but the name was soon changed to the Social Service Council of Canada, and the emphasis of the movement was modified, with the name, from "Wowsering," to use the vocabulary of H. L. Mencken, to a study and promotion of constructive social legislation.

Under Dr. Shearer's leadership, the council accepted as units not only the original denominational boards, but also a variety of social organizations including the Trades and Labor Congress and the Dominion Grange and Farmers' Association. Eventually, during the War, the council sought to include a large variety of "uplift" societies as integral units, in the hope that the resultant fusion of the social idealism of the churches with the technique of the social workers would prove of mutual value to both groups. Desirable legislation was studied and when the general terms of such legislation were approved, draft laws were prepared and submitted to the parliament concerned, where they almost invariably received favorable consideration. Thus, the churches seemed to have found a satisfactory organ through which they might bring their idealism to bear upon the social problems of the young nation.

Dr. Shearer died, however, in March, 1925, and since then the work has suffered from various causes among which are:

(a) The work of stimulating interest in social work had been done and legislation provided for the more obvious social dangers.

(b) The field of the social gospel had by this time shifted from the plane of problems to be remedied seriatim to an application of new principles of procedure to the whole social organism. In this profession of Christianizing society along more radical lines, the Methodist Church had assumed a leadership, the General Conference, held at Hamilton in 1918, issuing a manifesto entitled "Church Leadership in the Nation" and calling for social democracy. This manifesto evoked nation-wide discussion. The General

Assembly of the Presbyterian Church issued a somewhat similar statement later.

(c) The large number of secular units now included in the membership of the Social Service Council seemed, in the eyes of some, to frustrate the most effective functioning of the churches as churches, and reduced the council to a somewhat rotarian level.

(d) After Church Union was consummated, the continuing Presbyterian Church left the matter of their affiliation in abeyance, and consequently coöperation was reduced to that degree.

The Social Service Council of Canada has, however, promoted some significant research work, much of it done with the assistance of college professors and secretaries of denominational boards who have donated their time to such labors. The results of these researches are printed in pamphlet form and made available to churches or societies, and these receive a wide reading. The council, moreover, from time to time, holds conferences on social problems in some selected county and secures the collaboration and interest of the ministers and congregations in that area. It also publishes a monthly magazine, *Social Welfare,* which has a modest circulation. It has not, however, as yet done much to guide and direct social thinking after the manner of Copec or similar organizations, and its budget is so small and its staff so limited that it is inhibited from attempting more intensive and experimental lines of social education.

In addition to the Canadian Council, there are also provincial councils in the nine provinces and in Newfoundland and Bermuda. One of these provincial councils merges its work with the provincial prohibition league. On the letterhead of the national organization, it claims to be, "A Federal Council of Churches and Other Organizations for the Promotion of Social Welfare." At present the churches represented on the council are the Church of England in Canada, the United Church, the Baptist Churches in Canada, the Salvation Army and the Evangelical Church, Organizations of social workers are included as follows: Canadian Prisoners' Welfare Association, National Council Y.M.C.A., National Council Y.W.C.A., Victorian Order of Nurses in Canada, the Dominion Council, Royal Templars of Temperance, the Federation of Women's Institutes. Apparently, the Trades and Labor Congress and the Dominion Grange and Farmers' Association have failed to give formal and active coöperation.

Home and Foreign Missions

Except for the interdenominational Canada Home Missionary Society, organized in Montreal in 1827, which lasted only five or six years, and the French Canadian Missionary Society, organized in 1839 and taken over by the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1876, there is no evidence of interdenominational missionary activities in the earlier history of Canada.[5]

Student Volunteer Movement

The first important interdenominational effort in the field of missions, home or foreign, accompanied the rise of the Student Volunteer Movement. This movement had its inception in the United States in 1886, but Canadian students were included in the one hundred men who volunteered for foreign missions within a month at Mount Hermon, Mass., in that year. Consequently, it may be affirmed that the Student Volunteer Movement was, at the outset, international.

The first separate band to be formed in Canada was about 1888 and bands were soon established in all the colleges of the Dominion. In the 'nineties, however, the supply of volunteers exceeded the demand of the sending agencies in Canada. This may have been due to the fact that the growth of Canada in this decade was almost static, in spite of the fact that the West was now penetrated by the Canadian Pacific Railway. The population of Ontario, for example, increased only 3 per cent. between 1891 and 1901. Meanwhile, more Ontario men were being educated than the professions could assimilate. The result was that many of them applied to foreign missionary boards in the United States and were sent out to various parts of the world under such auspices. Even with this outlet, many others in the Canadian colleges, anxious to engage in missionary effort, saw little prospect of support in their own churches.

Missionary Education Movement

About 1895, Dr. F. C. Stephenson, a student at Trinity Medical College and a student volunteer, was paying his way through college by selling stereopticon views for Underwood & Underwood. As he proved successful in this work, he was placed in charge of the recruiting of students in the various colleges for that business. Visiting the colleges to secure salesmen, he met many of the volunteers and became deeply impressed by their problems. Being a Methodist, he immediately worked on plans whereby the various Epworth Leagues and young people's societies of Christian Endeavor could be so interested in the work of missions that they would themselves assume the responsibility for the support of the volunteers who wished to be sent abroad. The movement in Canada was originally called the Student Missionary Campaign for an Exodus of Missionaries, and this enterprise proved so successful that in 1914 practically all the salaries of the men

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[5] Both of these organizations have been briefly described in ch. ii, p. 43 and ch. iv, p. 78.

(not the women) sent out by the Methodist Church in Canada were being paid by the young people's organizations.

This movement soon secured the interest of the Rev. R. P. Mackay, of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, who joined with Dr. Stephenson in bringing these matters before leaders in the missionary movement in the United States, and soon there developed, in 1902, on an international and interdenominational scale, the Young People's Missionary Movement. The Canadian churches thus made a very distinct contribution to the beginnings of the Missionary Education Movement.

While the Missionary Education Movement was organized on an international basis and included both the United States and Canada, the Canadians felt the need of a separate Canadian unit and consequently there was organized, in 1908, the Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement, which had its own paid personnel until 1927, two years after Church Union was consummated, when the movement ceased to function actively. During this time there was official denominational coöperation on the part of Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Evangelical churches, Methodists and Presbyterians. About 1912, the Church of England in Canada voted to restrict its coöperation to specific projects.

In addition to promoting missionary education throughout the churches generally, the Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement undertook the publication of several textbooks for use in the Canadian churches, dealing not only with mission fields abroad but also with home tasks and great missionary personalities. In all about eight such texts, written from a distinctly Canadian angle, were published, together with a series of books for juniors. These books were usually published simultaneously in the coöperating churches, and bore the imprimatur of the various denominational societies as well as of the Canadian Council. Occasionally a denomination which was stressing the study of its own textbook refrained from giving a particular text its endorsement. The first book to be published was entitled *His Dominion,* by William T. Gunn. This was an interpretation of Canadian life from the point of view of the Canadian churches. It should be noted, perhaps, that the Baptist imprimatur was lacking in the publication of this book since one of the Baptist secretaries of that period felt that Dr. Gunn, the author, was too charitable to the French Roman Catholics.[6] This withholding of endorsation was, however, purely personal and not denominational.

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[6] See William T. Gunn, *His Dominion* (Canadian Council, Missionary Education Movement, 1917), pp. 55–56.

Home Missions

While interdenominational missionary efforts gained greatly by such international movements as the Laymen's Missionary Movement, the Canadian churches did not develop their own Council of Foreign Missions or their own Council of Home Missions but found their place in both the North American Councils. Their membership in the Foreign Missions Conference of North America was undoubtedly justified since foreign missions constitute an international problem, but their membership in the Council of Home Missions in North America was hardly an advantage to them, since home missions are distinctly a national problem and while the Canadian churches learned somewhat from the experience of the American churches, they might better have faced it as a separate unit. Had they done so, they might have succeeded in coming to an agreement among themselves in their work for Indians, among French Canadians and among the non-English-speaking peoples. As it is, outside of the coöperation effected within the three denominations that came together in organic union and in the period immediately preceding Union, there has been no coöperation in Home Missionary work in Canada of any great significance.

Of course, here as elsewhere, much activity has been shown in the promotion of various interdenominational or non-denominational enterprises in foreign missions, e.g., the Soudan Inland Mission, the Evangelical Union of South America, the China Inland Mission, the European Mission, Mission to Lepers, etc., but many of these societies have, on the whole, rather appealed to a special school of thought in all the churches than invited the active coöperation of denominations as denominations.

Colleges and Universities

No story of Protestant coöperation in Canada would be complete without some consideration of the field of education, both elementary and higher. According to the terms of the British North America Act, the control of education is vested in the provinces and the rights of minorities are definitely safeguarded. Three distinct types of public education are provided in the various provinces, while the Dominion of Newfoundland has a fourth type.

Types of Public Education

(a) In Quebec, education is not compulsory, and there are two school boards, one Catholic and one Protestant, both of which receive public funds. As a result, both groups include specific religious instruction in their curriculum. As Protestants in the schools are grouped together, the religious instruction is necessarily provided in a thoroughly coöperative manner. The ingress of a large number of Jews into such cities as Montreal has, however, disturbed this delicate equilibrium.

(b) In Ontario, school attendance is compulsory and there are public schools and separate (Roman Catholic) schools, both of which are supported by public taxes, the rate-payer indicating whether he is to be listed as a public or a separate school supporter.

(c) In Saskatchewan, one of the newer provinces, public schools are either majority or minority schools. The majority school may be purely secular or it may represent a homogeneous religious or racial group. Any minority, however, that can prove its ability to finance a school of its own by an apportionment of the taxes contributed by the rate-payers belonging to the minority can have such a school. At the present time, however, there are only thirty-one separate school districts in this province, out of a total of 4,878. Of these thirty-one separate school districts, twenty-four are Roman Catholic, and seven are Protestant.

(d) In Newfoundland, all of the schools are denominational, and receive government assistance. Thus, The United Church of Canada has inherited from the former Methodist Church more than 200 schools of this character in the colony.

Elementary and secondary education in Canada is, consequently, not so completely secularized as in the United States, and in one province at least, Quebec, Protestants are required to coöperate in the building up of their own educational system supported by public funds.

Founding of Denominational Colleges

It is, however, in the field of higher education that one of the most significant experiments in the field of inter-religious coöperation has been attempted, although the extent of this coöperation varies with the different provinces. The most notable example is furnished by the Province of Ontario, where Archdeacon (later Bishop) Strachan, of the Church of England, secured, in 1827, a charter for an institution to be known as King's College and to be supported out of the Clergy Reserves. This college was conceived as a distinctly Anglican institution, all the members of its council being required to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, and its divinity degrees being confined to those holding Holy Orders in the Church of England. In his efforts to secure this charter, Bishop Strachan made the mistake of disparaging the other religious denominations in the province, particularly the Methodists, who were numerically far superior to the Anglicans. The Methodists, he claimed, were subject to the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and hence should be allowed no control or representation in the new institution. This aroused, not alone on the part of the Methodists but also of all the non-Anglican groups, a bitter opposition which "was not destined to die down for fully two generations."[7] The Methodists retaliated by securing a charter for a college of their own, which they established in Cobourg, Ontario, in 1836, and which later became Victoria University. In 1837, the Roman Catholics established Regiopolis College at Kingston, and in 1839 the Church of Scotland founded Queen's College, later Queen's University, in the same city.

Federation in the University of Toronto

Continuous discussion over the special interests of the Anglicans prevented the official inauguration of King's College until 1843, and the controversy was maintained at a high pitch until, in 1850, by an Act of Parliament, King's College became the University of Toronto and all denominational forms of worship and tests were prohibited, "in the interests of complete secularization and Government control." The Anglicans thereupon founded Trinity College, in 1852. Under this arrangement the University of Toronto functioned for many years, but as it grew in numbers and in scope and sought additional equipment, the politicians found it difficult to secure popular approval and the necessary financial support to maintain it on an adequate basis while Methodists, Anglicans and Presbyterians were confronting the heavy burden of supporting their own denominational colleges and appealing to the province for help. By a stroke of rare statesmanship a proposal originated about 1883 to invite the denominational colleges to move to Toronto and join a federation under the aegis of the provincial university. Protracted negotiations were at length successful, and the enabling legislation was passed in the Federation Act of 1887. Queen's University maintained its entirely separate existence at Kingston, but Victoria (Methodist) and St. Michael's (Roman Catholic) accepted the invitation and entered the federation. Trinity was more tardy, but after ensuring the necessary safeguards for the provision of religious instruction, joined the federation in 1903.

Today the University of Toronto remains a provincial university with a total enrollment of approximately eight thousand students, in which instruction in all the sciences and in certain arts subjects is given directly by the university, while instruction in specific arts subjects is provided by four colleges, namely University College (non-sectarian), Victoria College (United Church, formerly Methodist), St. Michael's College (Roman Catholic), and Trinity College (Anglican). The total number of arts students in 1931 was 3,994, distributed as follows:

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[7] W. S. Wallace, *History of the University of Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1927), p. 14.

University of Toronto	741
University College	1,626
Victoria College	946
Trinity College	307
St. Michael's College	339
Registered twice	35
	3,994

In addition, three theological colleges are affiliated with the university—Knox College (Presbyterian), Wycliffe College (Anglican) and Emmanuel College (United Church).

The results of this federation are far-reaching: (1) A student body in arts, which would prove unwieldy in one institution, is wisely divided among a number of colleges in which the individuality of the students may be more fully respected. Nevertheless, this division is effected not artificially but with respect to the real significance of the different religious and cultural backgrounds of the students themselves.

(2) While there may be some overlapping of courses in classics and moderns, not a few arts subjects, including even history and philosophy, are given to the students jointly, while all duplication of equipment in the teaching of those sciences which can hardly be imparted denominationally is avoided.

(3) A closer integration of the intellectual and spiritual life of the students is achieved by the definite recognition of the religious character of the three arts colleges, and arts students in the university are privileged to take, in connection with their course, some religious knowledge option in the college of their choice.

(4) At least one arts college, St. Michael's, saved from the necessity of reduplicating laboratories, etc., now turns its attention to a specific field of scholarship in which it is seeking to build up a particularly strong department. As a result, St. Michael's is rapidly becoming one of the greatest centres for mediaeval studies in the world.

(5) As professors and students enrolled in these different colleges mingle together and work together at the delicate coöperative tasks which such a federation creates, they develop a spirit of tolerance and community-mindedness which has its repercussion on the outside world. There can be no doubt, for instance, that much of the dynamic for church union grew out of the close relationships established between the theological students in the Presbyterian and Methodist colleges.

(6) The whole higher educational life of the province is thus happily coördinated in a manner which deserves the careful study, if not the emulation, of state universities in the United States. The educational experiment

successfully carried out at the University of Toronto is of outstanding significance.

Situation in Other Provinces

In the other provinces, the nearest approximation to this scheme is in the University of Manitoba, at Winnipeg. In Quebec, on the other hand, a different situation arises out of the recognition by the Protestant minority that they are a minority. Consequently, for the most part, McGill University (non-sectarian) has acquired the loyalty of all groups. Three theological colleges are affiliated with the university but there is no federation of arts colleges similar to that existing at the University of Toronto.

The deleterious effects of denominational rivalry in thwarting an adequate system of higher education may be plainly studied in the Maritime provinces, the total population of which is less than one million. Table VIII shows the situation.

TABLE VIII—INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING, MARITIME PROVINCES

Institution	Registration 1927–1928	Type	Founded
New Brunswick			
University of N. B.	269	Provincial	1800
Mt. Allison	486	Methodist	1858
St. Joseph's	364	Roman Catholic	1864
Prince Edward Island			
St. Dunstan's	163	Roman Catholic	1855
Nova Scotia			
King's	76	Anglican	1789
Dalhousie	823	Non-sectarian	1818
Acadia	579	Baptist	1838
St. Francis Xavier	250	Roman Catholic	1855

This wide variety of institutions was due in part to an understandable provincial pride, but more largely to religious controversy. As in Ontario, the first college to be founded, King's, was Anglican. This restriction caused opposition among the numerous non-Anglicans who succeeded in founding Dalhousie in 1818, of which the first president was a distinguished Presbyterian clergyman and educator, the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, D.D., formerly the head of a Presbyterian academy at Pictou. Unfortunately, the board of governors of the newly-established university made the mistake, in selecting the president's two assisting professors, of excluding an accomplished Baptist scholar in favor of a much inferior Presbyterian candidate for the chair in classics. The Baptists, consequently, highly resentful, withdrew their support and founded Acadia University. Somewhat later the Methodists established Mount Allison at Sackville, near the boundary between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Dalhousie continued to remain non-sectarian but in personnel and financial support it became by a process of elimination largely a Presbyterian institution.

In 1922, a study of the whole situation was made by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, which recommended a concentration of these colleges in Halifax. The Foundation also made a generous offer to assist the colleges, which voted to accept the proposal to secure land and buildings in Halifax. Only King's College accepted the invitation. New Brunswick, Acadia, and St. Francis Xavier declined to enter the federation. Mount Allison thereupon decided that the gains in the fusion of only three colleges, viz., Dalhousie, King's and Mount Allison, would be more than balanced by economic losses and also a possible loss in institutional loyalties. The suggestion, therefore, in the main, collapsed, although King's College now occupies excellent buildings on the Dalhousie campus. A distinguished educator in the Maritimes remarked in this connection to the director of this study, that since Church Union they had experienced little difficulty from *denominational* loyalties, but they had discovered the divisive influence of *institutional* loyalties.

Influence on Church Union

University federation, therefore, offers its outstanding exhibit in the University of Toronto, where so many church leaders in the Dominion are trained. This had not a little to do with preparing the way for Church Union, and it is not without significance that one of the recognized leaders in the Church Union movement, among the Presbyterians, was Sir Robert Falconer, the President of the University. It is also not without significance that both in the Maritime provinces and in Ontario the Baptist colleges have refused to enter any federation, as the denomination itself replied negatively to the invitation to join in the formation of a United Church.

Prior to the consummation of Church Union in 1925, both Methodist (except at Saskatoon) and Presbyterian Churches had established theological institutions at each provincial university centre. These theological schools performed a dual function, not only providing theological instruction to candidates for the ministry but also offering the accommodations of a hostel to the students of their respective denominations enrolled in the university. This method is still used by the United Church and makes it possible for the church in several institutions to keep in close contact with its own students, even when they are studying in a secular institution.

Bible Schools

There are a few interdenominational Bible schools in Canada, the largest of which is in Toronto, and is known as the Toronto Bible College.

It was established in 1894, and since that time the enrollment of students in the day classes has aggregated 3,639 and in the evening classes 6,706. While "no sectarian or merely denominational tenets are taught in the classes," the doctrinal basis of the institution is strictly evangelical and with a decidedly Fundamentalist bias. Studies made of the enrollment indicate that prior to Church Union the Baptists furnished the largest percentage of students, followed by the Presbyterians, Methodists and Anglicans in the order named. This Bible college sends a large percentage of its graduates to the foreign field, where for the most part they serve with such interdenominational missionary organizations as the Soudan Inland Mission, the China Inland Mission, European Mission, etc. Smaller but somewhat similar colleges may be found in Winnipeg and in Vancouver.

SUMMARY

The types of Protestant coöperation described above are the more significant, if not always the more universal. Ministers' unions, and some coöperative societies for Sunday-school or young people's work, exist and work more or less effectively in almost every county in the Dominion. The effect of the Church Union movement and the subsequent creation of The United Church of Canada on these various coöperative agencies must be treated elsewhere in this report. It is sufficient to indicate here, however, what the major forms of coöperation were.

For the most part they but parallel similar types of coöperation in the United States. In the development of university federation, however, and in the formation of the Social Service Council, the Canadian solution was *sui generis*. In some of the coöperative activities, the leadership was assumed by one denomination, while in other activities, the leadership fell to another denomination. Thus, if the Methodists were most active in temperance reform, the Presbyterians showed an equally deep concern for the sanctity of the Lord's Day. It is well to note that in certain types of activity the Presbyterians proved quite as coöperative, if not more coöperative than other denominations. Thus, in the work among French Canadians they loyally supported the interdenominational French Canadian Missionary Society, when Baptists, Anglicans and Methodists set up their own work, and only "denominationalized" the work of this organization when they had been left "carrying the bag." Again, in the Maritime provinces, they continued to support Dalhousie University on a non-sectarian basis when the Baptists and the Methodists had diverted their interest to denominational colleges. Anglican coöperation was given quite freely by various individuals but more charingly by the denomination as such. Economic considerations kept down a multiplicity of societies in the same general field, and any organization that lost its usefulness soon lost its support. There was no money in Canada to waste on superfluous overhead. In at least one significant movement, namely, the Missionary Education Movement, much credit for the initiative in this international undertaking must be given to Canadians. Confronted by a surplus of student volunteers and a lack of funds they had to devise new educational methods through which to develop a supporting constituency.

As will be seen later, the Church Union movement tended during the period of its incubation to develop a variety of coöperative activities between the negotiating churches which may possibly have reduced certain areas of coöperation outside of these three churches. Coöperation, however, remained a vital force. Even in 1922 the Canadian School of Missions was inaugurated for the preparation of their candidates and the post-graduate studies of missionaries on furlough by eight mission boards representing five communions—Anglican, Baptist, Disciple, Presbyterian and Methodist. These boards united not alone in directing but also in financing the school, an enterprise both unique and effective.

Thus Canadian Protestants have learned to work together. In this period the coöperators in Canada, as elsewhere, were influenced by various movements in other parts of the world which sought to bring Christian people together in common effort. Further, while many Canadians may have had peculiar reasons of their own for believing in the necessity of coöperative enterprises, their leaders had held before them from an early time a very high sense of the church as the body of Christ, and this easily led them to prosecute definite negotiations long before 1902 for some union of churches, as the next chapter on "Early Attempts at Union" will indicate. The dynamic behind the coöperative effort was not alone the sense of frustration due to division, or a deep anxiety to get rid of barriers to community-mindedness. It was also a conception of the church which was too high to be enclosed in any denominational formula. Thus national necessities combined with ecclesiastical idealism to force upon the Canadian people the choice between continued sectarianism and religious integration.

CHAPTER V

Early Attempts at Church Union

The agitation for organic church union in Canada across denominational lines was almost continuous for fifty years before 1902, when it entered the stage of actual negotiations. Every successful consolidation of religious groups in the same denominational family stimulated interest in, and hope for, a larger union of all Protestantism. Thus, in 1860, when two important Presbyterian groups in Nova Scotia came together, Professor Ross, of Truro, N. S., declared:

> "We accept what has been done most thankfully as a token of further union. . . . When the spirit of union begins to move, who will venture to set bounds to its influence?"

When similar groups came together in the Canadas in 1861, Dr. Ormiston closed a significant address delivered in Montreal in celebration of the union, with these words:

> "May God grant that not in this church alone, but in all churches, the spirit of union may prevail, going out from Montreal as a centre, till it covers the whole land."

When the Presbyterian Church in Canada was formed, in 1875, its first Moderator, Dr. John Cook, spoke of the union then effected as

> "but a small step to the union which our Lord's intercessory prayer seems to contemplate. . . . In regard to others in the Protestant churches of the Dominion . . . I look for a union in the future before which the present . . . shall appear slight and insignificant."

It is difficult to exaggerate the obvious influence of these frequent successful attempts at the inner consolidation of denominations in the stimulation of interest in the larger problem of Christian unity. Presbyterian unions were followed by Methodist unions, and Methodist unions by Presbyterian unions, while the greater efficiency resulting from these various amalgamations forced upon denominations other than Methodist and Presbyterian, a re-thinking of their problem. The subject of organic union was therefore in constant fermentation throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. If nothing succeeds like success, nothing promoted church union in Canada like the actual achievement of various unions of churches.

While, in the discussion preliminary to these various unions within denominations, one finds that the arguments advanced against amalgamations were almost identical with those later advanced against union across denominational lines, nevertheless, most of the arguments adduced in favor of such amalgamation were equally cogent for the union of denominations.

Even when organic union seemed too chimerical, coöperation to avoid overlapping was offered as a substitute, first by the smaller denominations, who felt the economic pinch most keenly, and then by the larger denominations when the far-flung and rapidly receding frontier of Canada presented staggering tasks to comparatively new churches. Thus, in 1866, the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec heard a report which expressed chagrin at the unseemly rivalry in the planting of churches in small pioneer communities in the East. Congregational churches had at considerable sacrifice been planted in communities hitherto untended only to be crushed by the incoming of other denominations. The report stated:

> "Some of our oldest churches, once vigorous and promising, have had to be abandoned on this account, while others, in some cases the first to occupy the ground, have been so far weakened by the dividing of the population among a number of competing sects as to have been left, and probably the rival organizations as well, dependent for many years upon extraneous aid.
>
> "Other denominations have suffered and are still suffering, in a similar manner, and thus vast sums of missionary money are annually expended almost fruitlessly upon small places where half a dozen ministers of different connexions are preaching, each to his two or three score of hearers, while one or two might do the whole work, without external aid, and leave the rest to go into the regions beyond them which are still destitute."

These arguments, thus formulated as early as 1866 remain the typical arguments most prominently advanced at every stage of the Church Union movement in Canada, and the committee respectfully inquired whether "some plan might not be devised by means of which the unseemly rivalry at present existing between the different sections of the Church of Christ in this Province, particularly in the breaking of new ground, might be done away with or at least abated."

In addition to (1) the repercussion of the various inner consolidations of denominations on the whole of Canadian Protestantism, and (2) the sense of futility created by overlapping in small, pioneer communities, one must note (3) not only the importance and scope of the various coöperative agencies described in chapter iv, but especially the practice of sending and receiving fraternal delegates at various conferences. These visits dramatized the "get-together" movement, and never failed to stress points of agreement. Complimentary addresses, mixed with a little pulpit rhetoric, may seem at times a trifle vapid, but the impact of such civilities over a period of years is considerable, and it must not be forgotten that several of the definite schemes for union which stirred the Canadian churches were launched by such friendly overtures. The Presbyterian delegates in particular developed a habit of couching their greetings in the form of a suggestion for closer coöperation and union. They did this at the Congregational Union in 1892, and some Congregational ministers took them at their word and instituted significant proceedings in 1893-1894. They did it again before the General Conference of the Methodist Church at Winnipeg in 1902, and as a result the Methodist Church took definite action and launched the movement which culminated in the formation of The United Church of Canada in 1925. An amusing "stereotype" found in frequent addresses of this character during the whole period is the hope that

> "the people of God of all denominations may be drawn continually more closely together, so that, in the language of prophecy, Ephraim may never more envy Judah, nor Judah Ephraim."

In more recent years the main biblical text quoted was found in the intercessory prayer of our Lord "that they all may be one," but in the early days it is the reconciliation of Ephraim and Judah which seems to dominate the biblical scenery. Until 1898, however, there was no organization in Canada especially devoted to the promotion of Christian unity except the Evangelical Alliance, and while this organization made its contribution, its program, as indicated previously, was circumscribed.

Beginning with the words, already quoted, of Professor Ross, in 1860, and of Dr. Ormiston, in 1861, a chronological summary of the main pronouncements and movements in the period under review might run somewhat as follows:

> The report of the Congregational Union Committee, in 1866; the reception for the first time by the General Conference of the Wesleyan Church of a fraternal delegate from a Presbyterian synod at Kingston, in 1868; a noteworthy address by Dr. (later Principal) Grant before the first meeting of the Dominion Branch of the Evangelical Alliance in 1874, entitled "The Church of Canada; Can Such a Thing Be?"; the hopes expressed in 1875 on the formation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada by its first Moderator, Dr. John Cook; the Chairman's address before the Congregational Union, in 1874, by the Rev. Enoch Barker, on "Christian Union: Its Necessity and Possibility"—an address which was vigorously debated in the union and only approved with some significant reservations; colloquies in January 1881 in an informal synodical gathering at Trinity College, Toronto, under the leadership of Bishop Sweatman of Toronto, to which reference must be made later; definite negotiations for coöperation, 1885–1886, between Presbyterians and Methodists, launched originally by the Presbytery of Brockville, through the General Assembly; a discussion in the secular press of a possible union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians in 1887;

conferences between Presbyterians, Methodists and Anglicans regarding the possibility of organic unity, in 1889, originally proposed by the Anglicans in 1886, two years before the issuance of the Lambeth Quadrilateral; publication of an open letter on Christian unity by the Methodist General Conference of 1890; negotiations looking towards Presbyterian-Congregational union in 1893–1894; a Methodist proposal in 1894 for a federal court of churches to reduce overlapping and also to consider the possibility of the merging of all denominational missions in French Canada into one French Protestant Church; the formation of a Canadian Church Unity Society (including Anglicans) in 1898; another proposal for coöperation to avoid overlapping made by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in 1898; the formation of a second organization of Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists, called "The Church Union Society of Canada" in the Melville Presbyterian Church, Markham, in June, 1902.

It is quite impossible to describe in any completeness the course of these various endeavors, but on the basis of collected data, some reference to the general course of these efforts is in place.

Anglican Proposals

At the conference at Trinity College, in 1881, two papers were read and created great interest, being published in full not only in *The Dominion Churchman* but also in the secular press of the time. One of these papers, entitled "The Best Steps for Promoting the Unity of Christendom," was given by Canon (later Bishop) Carmichael. He pleaded that the Church "should face infidelity and heathenism unitedly" and "march as an army rather than as independent regiments, and in some way, as yet undefined, for the love of Jesus and the good of souls, be united." Then he made a definite suggestion which is of great significance. Referring to the fact that the first world organization of any Protestant body, namely the Pan-Anglican Congress, was originally called at the request of the Provincial Synod of Canada, in 1861, he said:

> "Let the Canadian Church, which mooted the first idea of a Pan-Anglican Council, bring before that Synod a practical work to do. Let the Canadian bishops, as representing the Church of England in Canada, petition the Pan-Anglican Council to issue a loving, Christlike, Christian call to the recognized leaders of Roman, Greek and Non-conformist divisions of faith, asking them unitedly with the Church of England to create by representation, a temporary consultive body in which the views of all might be stated as to the wisest steps towards unity, without committing that body to any result beyond the result of its own natural force and influence."

He went on to add that if such a body were created, "no Roman legate would probably be there," but the Old Catholic Church would be present. "The East might be represented from some of the older churches, although the representation would be small, but Presbyterianism and Methodism and Congregationalism . . . would be there and there willingly and largely."

This address was received with great satisfaction, especially in the daily papers. The conference itself was purely informal and was not constituted as a court of the Anglican Church. Nevertheless, the suggestion made by Canon Carmichael, seven years before the famous Lambeth Quadrilateral was issued, may have had not a little to do with the creation of a demand for some such step by the Anglican Church, especially as it is probable that the proposal for the first Lambeth Conference originated with Archbishop Lewis in the Provincial Synod of Canada.[1]

At the same conference, another paper was presented by Archdeacon Whittaker on "The Attitude of the Church in This Country Towards the Denominations," which was also published in full in the secular press, and which the Toronto *Globe* condemned for its "mediaevalism" as heartily as it commended the suggestions of Canon Carmichael. Archdeacon Whittaker's paper is an interesting example of the prevailing temper of a certain number of Anglicans at the time "towards the denominations." He pointed out that much of the soreness felt by dissenters in respect of their relations with the Church of England, "arose from painful reminiscences of the past, or from a suspicion that we still regard their position as one of, at least, social inferiority." He went on to say, however, that some relief had been obtained by the recognition of the civil and social equality of all good subjects, irrespective of their religious beliefs, and intimated that the time had come when they might

> "give them individually full credit for walking according to the light they have and for the sincere desire to submit themselves to the laws of Christ's kingdom; and . . . yet make it perfectly clear to them that we cannot recognize the organization to which they belong as being in accordance with those laws, etc."

As a biblical background for such an attitude, he quoted the words of Our Lord to the woman of Samaria: "Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews," adding, "He graciously received those whose self-chosen worship He utterly disallowed." In spite of some riot of resentment created by this address by those belonging to "the denominations," the incident itself indicated a popular interest in the subject.

Toronto Conference, 1889

Five years later, in 1886, the House of Bishops of the Provincial Synod of the Church of England in Canada, passed a resolution, concurred in by the Lower House, appointing a committee to confer with similar committees from other Christian bodies "for the purpose of ascertaining whether there is any possibility of honorable union with such bodies." The General Conference of the Methodist Church, meeting at the same time in Toronto, responded immediately by appointing a committee to represent it. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Union did likewise, in 1887. When finally the representatives came together in Toronto, in April, 1889—in the interval the Lambeth Quadrilateral had been issued—the Anglicans forgot to notify the Congregationalists, and so only three bodies were represented at the conference, which held four sessions presided over by the Bishop of Toronto, the Moderator of the General Assembly, the General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, and the Bishop of Niagara respectively. Three secretaries from each of the churches represented were appointed.

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[1] For further information, see chapter xiv.

At the first session, Principal Caven, of Knox College, offered a brief paper with a resolution confirming the principle of incorporate union. There was discussion, but no action. The next subject of discussion was "The Amount of Unity Already Existing in Doctrine, Worship and Modes of Action Between the Three Bodies." Most of the time of the Committee was given to the discussion of this subject. Papers were read by Anglican members on the Holy Scriptures and on creeds. The last matter to engage the attention of the conference was a paper on the Historic Episcopate; "it was read merely, not discussed." No attempt was made throughout the conferences to formulate a basis of union. With the most cordial expressions by the members of Christian regard for each other, the Conference closed.

In their report to the General Conference of the Methodist Church on this meeting, its committee said,

> "It may be added that the Anglican portion of the Joint Committee seemed to be strongly and unanimously in favor of Union. In both the Presbyterian and Methodist sections there did not seem to be the same coincidence of thought and opinion. However, nothing could exceed the courtesy and kindliness of spirit, language and discussion that prevailed throughout the entire Conference. In an important sense, 'It was good to be there.' "

Subsequent to this joint meeting, the Provincial Synod held another session at which it appointed a Committee on Christian Union to confer with similar committees that might be appointed by other Christian bodies to consider the possibilities of union "upon the preliminary basis embodied in the Lambeth resolutions" (of 1888).

The Historic Episcopate

The General Conference of the Methodist Church received, in 1890, the report of its special committee, expressed its devout thankfulness for any action taken, and its approval of the first three stipulations of the Lambeth Quadrilateral, but insisted that the fourth, "referring to the Historic Episcopate must be defined in harmony with the identity and essential equality of the office of Presbyter and Bishop." It further submitted "that the adequacy or inadequacy of the Lambeth Resolutions as a doctrinal basis would be a proper subject for discussion in future negotiations."

The General Conference of 1890 also drafted an appeal to all the followers of Christ everywhere who desired the unity of spirit. In this appeal, the General Conference expressed itself as desirous of coöperating to its utmost ability to secure organic union of Christian churches and a willingness to confer with all. It expressed its conviction, however, that "any method that would help to bring the different churches together must admit at once and unreservedly the validity and equality of the ministry of the contracting parties." It also suggested "as a tentative and educating measure, the occasional interchange of pulpits and recognition of a common brotherhood at the Lord's Table, among those who seriously aim at Christian union."

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, dealing with the report of its Committee on Church Union in 1890, also congratulated its committee on the conferences held with the Anglicans and Methodists, and took a less pronounced, if somewhat uncertain, stand on the Historic Episcopate, but queried the utility of the Nicene Creed, thus:

> "With reference to the preliminary Basis of Union embodied in the Lambeth Resolutions, to which the Committee directs the attention of the Assembly, it is necessary to distinguish between a basis on which negotiations looking towards Union may properly begin, and an adequate basis such as may finally be adopted; and in re-appointing its Committee the General Assembly deems it well to say that the Nicene Creed, while adhered to by the Church Universal, cannot well be regarded as a sufficient statement of the Christian faith, while the Historical Episcopate is accepted by us in harmony with the teachings of the New Testament regarding the office bearers (or officers) of the Christian Church."

Both the General Conference and the General Assembly thus reappointed committees, and left the door open for further negotiations. Nothing much happened except some correspondence, and the movement died.

Position of Congregationalists

The Congregationalists were invited to participate in these negotiations, but after appointing a committee, they were overlooked when the Anglicans announced the actual date of the meeting. The reason for this oversight has never been fully stated. The Anglican Synod had sent to other Christian bodies two communications in 1886, the first suggesting a conference on Christian unity, and the second asking their coöperation in securing larger religious and moral instruction in the schools. In regard to the latter proposal, the Presbyterians, Methodists and Anglicans were at one, but the Congregationalists, while "sympathizing with the memorialists in their solicitude for religious instruction of the young," declined to coöperate and deprecated "compulsory religious instruction by the secular power, involving as it practically does, a principle against which we, as Congregationalists have ever protested, viz., the union of Church and State." Perhaps, the Anglicans may have felt that in view of such an attitude, it would be better to eliminate the Congregationalists from the parley. On the other hand, the failure to notify them may have been due simply to oversight. In 1889, the Congregational Union voted:

> "Notwithstanding the fact that the committee on Christian union appointed at the last meeting of the Union was not invited to take part in the deliberations of the Conference recently held in Toronto, nevertheless, since there is a possibility that some mistake may have been made, be it therefore resolved that the committee on Christian union be appointed."

The original and unamended motion was considerably stronger.

The movement issued no immediate proposal, although the discussion created over a period of four or five years undoubtedly contributed to keep the subject alive and to drive Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists to think of union among themselves as more probable than one which should include Anglicans.

Presbyterian-Congregational Negotiations

In March, 1887, when the Anglican proposals were being widely discussed, and when presbyteries were voting on a remit "anent coöperation" in thinly-settled districts, the Toronto *Globe* published an editorial entitled "Congregationalism and Union" and hinted that conference between Presbyterians or Baptists and Congregationalists "could in any case do no harm and might result in a large amount of good." One correspondent later indicated that Congregationalists could not enter such a union unless Presbyterians eased up on the necessity of subscribing to the Confession of Faith, and Baptists ceased to demand that "we should go under the water." A Presbyterian correspondent then suggested that

> "even if the bars of our confessions of faith were lowered to the ground, it is difficult for a Presbyterian to see how the Congregationalists could come in as a body. There is no court of their church that has sufficient authority to

legislate for all the congregations, and thus a high bar is raised against union on their side in the very outset."

An editorial, dealing with this correspondence, followed, in which, after a comment on the validity and necessity of creeds, these words occur:

> "But the 'Credo,' the 'I believe' is not unchangeable, and no Presbyterian that we ever heard of assumed that his 'confession of faith' is either inspired or infallible."

Such statements regarding the power of the high court of the Presbyterian Church to legislate for all congregations, and concerning the unchangeability of the Confession of Faith indicate that in some circles there must have been a change of opinion between 1887 and 1925.

No definite negotiations took place in Presbyterian-Congregational circles until 1892. In that year the fraternal delegates from the General Assembly to the Congregational Union "held out the hand of fellowship and invited closer coöperation and even suggested corporate union." In January, 1893, a few Congregational ministers, taking the fraternal delegates at their word, discussed the matter, and as individuals, approached the Toronto Presbytery, since the presbytery had "the privilege of overture, of initiation, and with that must necessarily be the right to take into consideration that which might become the subject of overture." They said:

> "We desire, and for ourselves offer, a conference with you and with such brethren as you may appoint on the subject of union. If we must remain apart, it is well that we should know why. If there is no valid New Testament ground for division, you with us are equally desirous that the unity of our faith should be more manifest."

In particular, the self-constituted delegates made clear, in a rather pointed statement, that "the Unitarianism of New England must no more be laid to the charge of Congregational polity than the same change of doctrinal views in the Presbyterian churches of England."

The presbytery appointed a committee of eight to meet and confer with these ministers, and the first of two conferences was held at Knox College, Toronto, January 20, 1893. A valuable stenographic record of the proceedings is available, taken by one of the members. As one reads this highly valuable document, he mourns that similar documents are not preserved dealing with the negotiations in the later movement, 1902–1925. These reports clearly indicate the state of mind of men like Principal Caven of Knox College, and the Rev. D. J. Macdonnell, then of New St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, both of whom expressed a desire for the revision of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and a hope that the negotiations for union might provide the psychological moment for such a revision. In the end it was agreed that the Presbyterian representatives should recommend their presbytery to make overtures to the General Assembly to appoint a committee to meet with a similar committee of the Congregational churches, while the Congregational brethren should bring the same proposition before their churches and united bodies. In June, 1893, the matter was discussed at the Congregational Union, a resolution being offered expressing the conviction

> "that these bodies ought to unite for the reasons that they are greatly simliar in doctrine, worship, education of their ministry, general church practices, and that they might the more successfully meet the skepticism, atheism and Romanism in the land, and deal with error and wrong-doing in the churches."

A very tense debate ensued, however, and the definite proposals for union with the Presbyterians were sidetracked by a more general resolution appointing a new standing committee on Christian union.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, meeting a week or two later, passed a resolution announcing that "The General Assembly will always be ready to entertain the subject of union with other evangelical churches, and in particular with the Congregational Church, when in the Providence of God good results seem to be promised: but in view of the action reported as taken by the late meeting of the Congregational Union, it appears better not to take the step recommended in the memorial from the Presbytery of Toronto." A committee was, however, appointed with instructions to hold themselves open to confer with any similar body or bodies on the matter of union.

Some further sounding out of the situation occurred, but nothing definite was done. The Congregational Union in 1894 received a report from its committee recommending as a basis for further negotiations the terms made by the Congregational Association of New Jersey as a similar basis for a union or alliance of churches:

> (1) The acceptance of the Scriptures, the Old and New Testaments, inspired by the Holy Spirit, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of Christian faith.
>
> (2) Discipleship of Jesus Christ, the Divine Saviour and Teacher of the world.
>
> (3) The Church of Christ ordained by Him to preach the gospel to the world.
>
> (4) Liberty of conscience in the interpretation of the Scriptures and in the administration of the church.

Nothing further happened, however, in spite of the fact that both churches kept standing committees ready to act, and the net result of these negotiations would seem to have been that some of the Congregational leaders in the enterprise found their way eventually into the Presbyterian ministry.

COÖPERATION TO AVOID OVERLAPPING

Nothing came of the proposal submitted to the Congregational Union of 1866 for coöperation in the thinly-settled areas to which reference has already been made, but in 1885 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, meeting in Montreal, received an overture from the Presbytery of Brockville "anent coöperation of different Christian bodies in thinly settled districts of the country, for the joint management of weak congregations and stations, by agreement with other Christian denominations." The General Assembly voted to appoint a committee to confer along such lines with any similar committee appointed by any Protestant evangelical denomination in Canada. The Montreal Conference of the Methodist Church thereupon appointed a committee, and the two committees held a joint meeting February 2, 1886, at Ottawa, when, after free and lengthy discussion, resolutions were passed approving such coöperation and suggesting:

> 1. That in the opinion of this joint committee of representatives of the Montreal Conference of the Methodist Church, and of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, it is desirable and possible to secure some such arrangement of the missionary work of the two churches as will obviate the unnecessary duplication of missions in such places.
>
> 2. That for the attainment of this end, the governing bodies of the respective churches should provide for the appointment of committees, which should confer together as a Joint Commission regarding such places belonging to this class as may be known to them, or as may be referred to them for their consideration, and endeavour to come to an understanding as to which, if either, should in fairness retire from the field, due regard being had to the following points, viz., Number of members and adherents; amounts raised for all church purposes; value and position of the church property; priority of occupancy, and any special features of the work being done, e.g., the language spoken. This Joint Commission at its first meeting should make such division of its work, according to geographical lines, as may be found most convenient.
>
> 3. That this Joint Commission be instructed to communicate through its secretary the conclusions arrived at, as recommendations, to the proper courts of both churches; but that no such recommendations be made unless they receive the majority of votes of both sections of the commission, in case a separate vote be asked for by any member of the Joint Commission.
>
> 4. That the courts to which such recommendations are sent be requested to report their action on the recommendations to the secretary of the Joint Commission, as soon as practicable, for its information.
>
> 5. That it is undesirable that either of the churches should seek to establish new missions in places already fully occupied, and before permanently establishing such missions the cases should be reported to the Joint Commission for consideration and advice.

> 6. That for the better attainment of the object in view, it shall be understood that the churches entering this arrangement will cordially welcome the coöperation of other evangelical churches.

These resolutions were thereupon referred to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Conference of the Methodist Church, which met in 1886. The General Assembly, meeting in June, received the report, and without expressing any definite opinion on the merits of the proposals, sent them down to presbyteries for consideration. The General Conference, meeting in September, resolved to appoint a commission in each Annual Conference which should have power to deal with such consolidation of work in the various conferences subject to the approval of the Annual Conference itself.

In 1887 the reports of the remit to the presbyteries were made to the General Assembly. Thirty-seven presbyteries in all reported, of which twenty-three approved the general principle with various modifications, twelve disapproved and two took no action. Five presbyteries made no report. The General Assembly thereupon decided "that in view of the returns from presbyteries, the Assembly approves of the effort to attain the object aimed at in the scheme of ecclesiastical coöperation, but refers the matter to the several presbyteries and synods to take such action as they may deem best."

This actually shelved the project which the General Assembly had itself launched.

The Methodists, however, brought the matter up again in 1890 through their Committee on Christian Union which had reported on the Anglican-Methodist-Presbyterian negotiations, as follows:

> "Further, in respect to the Presbyterian Church, the Committee expressed itself as strongly of the opinion that the time has come when some practical steps might profitably be taken to bring about a better understanding in reference to the work on mission fields and that an amicable arrangement might be made between the two churches which would prevent any unseemly rivalry and the unnecessary expenditure of men and means, especially in the sparsely settled districts of Nipissing, Algoma [both of these in New Ontario], Manitoba and the Northwest."

No practical steps were taken, however, and in 1894, the Methodist General Conference passed another resolution calling for a federal union of churches. This may have been due to the organization in England in this same year of the federal body of the Free Churches. The resolution was as follows:

"Whereas the General Conference has already affirmed its willingness to negotiate with other branches of the Protestant Church on the question of union: and

"Whereas the needs of the missionary work at home and abroad call more forcibly than ever for economy, for mutual recognition of sister churches, and for coöperation, therefore

"Resolved, (1) That it is desirable, in the judgment of this Conference, to establish a Federal Court, composed of representatives of negotiating churches.

"(2) That such court, when established, shall not have power to deal with questions of creed or discipline, or with any question vitally affecting the independence of any of the negotiating churches.

"(3) The functions of the court shall be to consult and act with representatives of other churches with a view to coöperation and economy in regard to 'dependent' charges within their territory."

Copies of this proposal were sent to the Presbyterian General Assembly, the Baptist Missionary Society and the Congregational Missionary Society. The central section of the proposed court was also to have power "to negotiate with the representatives of other churches, with a view to the formation of one French Protestant Church, instead of the present denominational missions, or to secure such coöperation as may be practicable."

No action, however, was taken in the matter. The General Conference held its next quadrennial meeting, 1898, in Toronto, and received fraternal delegates as usual from the General Assembly. No new proposition, however, was offered, but one year later, in 1899, at the meeting of the General Assembly at Hamilton, Principal Caven, Convener of the Presbyterian Committee on Church Union, reported as follows:

"The Committee on Union with other churches was not convened during the past year; nor was any special action taken in the matter of coöperation with the Methodist Church of Canada, in connection with the objects specified in the resolutions of the Methodist Quadrennial Conference, submitted to a previous General Assembly. The very cordial reception accorded to your delegates to the Quadrennial Conference which met in Toronto in September last, as well as lengthened conversations had by the Convener of your Committee with the General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, give assurance that that church still earnestly desires not only to reciprocate courtesies with the Presbyterian Church, but also to have some scheme or arrangement established by which the united moral force of these churches may the more effectively be brought to bear in the promotion of the moral and religious welfare of the country. This is certainly an end of great importance, and one that may well be sought apart from any question as to Incorporate Union. It is therefore respectfully recommended that the General Assembly reappoint its Committee on Union, with instructions to give its attention to the subject here indicated, as it may have opportunity." (General Assembly, 1899, Minutes.)

The committee was reappointed but did not meet. The General Assembly, however, appointed it again in 1900 to be "an organ of action, should any opportunity arise for its interposition." Nothing, however, occurred until 1903 and after the movement for organic union had been launched. On February 3 of that year, there was a meeting of a joint committee of Methodists and Presbyterians, and certain agreements were drawn up and accepted. It is difficult to know, however, how far, if at all, these agreements became operative.

Reasons for Failure

The plans for coöperation failed because of excess denominationalism, just as internationalism fails because of excess nationalism, but some of the contributing causes to the collapse of this movement may be gathered from the home-mission reports to the General Assembly and other sources. In 1887, when the presbyteries were voting on the proposed scheme for coöperation, Dr. James Robertson, superintendent of Presbyterian missions in the West, was reported in the Toronto *Mail* as saying that coöperation would not work:

> "The Methodists allowed the Presbyterians to find out the places and then sent in their men. He found that the ecclesiastical sense of honor was lower in the Methodist Church than in the Presbyterian, and until they came to a level it would be difficult to coöperate. There had been coöperation in the building of union churches, but in these churches the Methodists had got the building and the Presbyterians had to go without."

Whereupon the Manitoba Conference of the Methodist Church, at the 1887 meeting, appointed a committee to consider these charges, which they later emphatically and indignantly denied, "deeply regretting at the same time that occasion had been given by these charges to threaten the very cordial relations which so generally exist between the Methodist and Presbyterian churches of this country."

Reading between the lines, one can picture the degree of competition which existed in the West between these two denominations. The Methodists may have been aggressive, believing with their founder that "the world was their parish," and while, here and there, some slight coöperation may have been effected in supporting union causes, quarter was generally neither asked nor given. Congregational representatives, seeking at this time an unoccupied field in these provinces where they might plant an uncompetitive cause, found everything pre-empted by the two larger denominations and all but unfurled the white flag. Further, the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions had some doubt as to the need of coöperation; they anticipated growth everywhere and saw in their small churches great self-supporting churches in the future. In the report of the Board of Home Missions to the 19th General Assembly in 1894, the very year when the Methodists proposed a Federal Court, we find these words:

> "The subject of overlapping received some attention at the last Assembly, and appeared occasionally during the year in the public prints, but no practical cure for the evil complained of was suggested. Anglicans and Baptists refuse to coöperate with other religious bodies and consequently the scheme of coöperation proposed must be confined meanwhile at least, to Presbyterians and Methodists. Suppose our Church divided Western Canada with the Methodists and we told our people that we would not establish missions in certain districts now—and if not now then in many of them never—and that they were to worship with the Methodist people and join their Church. Would they take the advice of the Church? Many of them, and these not bigoted, would answer, 'We are Presbyterians by birth and conviction and do not propose to leave the Church of our fathers.' Let it be known in Eastern Canada, and in Ireland and Scotland, that the children of the Church were abandoned, deliberately, over wide areas and it is to be feared that the Home Mission and Augmentation Treasuries would speedily feel the effect. Something may be said for such a policy where the population is declining in numbers and resources, but not much for a new country. The Church tried, in fact, at one time such a policy in some parts of the East, to her undoing. If overlapping is bad in the West it is so in the East and yet coöperation is scarcely attempted there. If bad in Home Missions it must be bad in the matter of colleges. Why have so many Arts Colleges in Ontario and Manitoba and why maintain six theological colleges in connection with the Presbyterian Church in Canada? And yet when it was attempted to consolidate the Presbyterian Colleges a few years ago, the General Assembly decided that it would not be to the advantage of the Church to press consolidation.
>
> Coöperation might command more attention if the support of the work was unduly burdensome, but such can scarcely be said to be the case. Were every communicant in the Western section to give one cent weekly for Home Missions and another cent fortnightly for Augmentation, or seventy-eight cents a year, all the Home Mission and Augmentation work between Gaspe and Victoria could be adequately maintained. The Church need scarcely groan under this burden. . . . The subject would not receive any notice in this report but that the Home Mission Fund suffers some loss because of ignorance of the facts about the so-called overlapping."

These words are highly illuminating, for they indicate the type of argument by which the progress of the coöperative movement was thwarted. The reference to the unwillingness to consolidate the colleges in the East indicates the tensions that always develop between departments of the church competing with each other for popular support. Why, said the leaders in home missions, make such ado about the need for consolidation in the growing West, when the leaders in education are opposed to consolidation at the home base and where there are too many colleges? Then the common remedy is put forward—only two or three cents a week per member and we could plant competitive churches in every community in the West and who would feel the burden? But then the confession—we would not even mention this were it not that our home-mission funds suffer because some people hesitate to contribute to the support of overlapping.

Coöperation an Urgent Problem

At all events, coöperation failed to secure the support of the denominations. First launched by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1886, it was later approved by the Methodists, but sidetracked by those who had launched it. It was brought up again by the Methodists in 1890 and 1894 without results; then the Presbyterians took the next move in 1899. The problem was growing greater every year, and by the turn of the century western Canada was experiencing a flood of immigration. Men, as well as money, had to be sought in the United Kingdom; there was not enough of either in the East, but in spite of the desire of both churches for a truce, the competition went on until 1902. In that year the great Superintendent of Presbyterian missions, in the West, Dr. James Robertson, died, and in that year, the Methodist Church, recognizing that the plans for coöperation had come to nothing, suggested organic unity as the solution.

The desire for coöperation, however, was not dead, for at the very time the General Conference of the Methodist Church was holding its historic meeting in Winnipeg in 1902, the Winnipeg Presbytery, on September 9th in session in the same city, received an overture from the joint congregations of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Selkirk, Manitoba, praying that an arrangement might be made which would eliminate overlapping between the two denominations in the West and avoid it in the future development of the country.

The presbytery approved the spirit of the overture and expressed its gratification therewith. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Selkirk Presbyterian Church voted, in 1925, not to concur in the Union.

CHURCH UNION SOCIETIES

Meanwhile societies had been formed across denominational lines for the study of and promotion of church unity. The first of these was the Canadian Society of Christian Union, founded in 1898, which had, as successive presidents, Dr. H. Symonds, of Christ Church Cathedral (Anglican), Montreal, Principal Grant, of Queen's University, and Principal Caven, of Knox College, Toronto. This society memorialized the General Assembly of 1902.

In February, 1902, a layman, Alexander D. Bruce, read a paper before the Westminster Guild of the Melville Presbyterian Church, Markham, Ont., on "Church Union." The publication of the paper was requested, but this request was granted only on condition that the society take definite steps to form an organization to promote church union. The guild consequently petitioned the session of the church to take the necessary action, and the session issued a call on May 8, 1902, for a conference on the subject. The call was sent to Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches in the vicinage, and fifty-five persons were present at the meeting, thirty of whom were Presbyterians, twenty-four Methodists and one a Congregationalist. At this meeting a committee was appointed which drafted a constitution in August, 1902, and called a meeting for September 26 of the newly-formed organization, at the Melville Church, Almira, to act upon the proposals.

Apparently, the society had memorialized the General Conference of the Methodist Church, for the Committee on Church Union had considered, among other memorials sent it, a communication from the Church Union Society of Canada. The General Conference, in making its definite proposal for church union that very year, rendered the further work of the society somewhat superfluous, but its very existence in this year is significant, since it represents the "rural judgment" of an important area in the Province of Ontario, within twenty miles of the city of Toronto. It is also significant that a Presbyterian church took the initiative in calling the conference, although in doing so it wished it "clearly understood that it is not committing its congregation to any particular scheme of Union, nor [is] the acceptance of this invitation [to] be understood as committing any individual, church court or congregation to any scheme of Union or even to the principle of Union in the abstract." It is also significant as typifying the current interest in the matter, so that it is impossible to think of the proposals of the Methodist Conference as not being the culmination of a period of very general thought on coöperation and union extending over at least twenty years.

The Turn of the Century

The year 1900 was most significant for Canadian life and marked the emergency of a new consciousness of Canadian nationalism. In the first place, the South African War had just drawn to a close and in that struggle Canadian contingents had played a conspicuous role and won high commendation at Paardeburg and other battles. Canada thus acquired a sense of participation in the life of the Empire. She was now able to give as well as to receive and her contribution had been made, not under compulsion, but voluntarily and gladly.

In the second place, the new immigration policy devised by the Honorable Clifford Sifton (later Sir Clifford Sifton) was already bringing many thousands of people to the Golden West, and immigration agents in different countries were busy extolling the opportunities which Canada offered and advertising its natural resources.

In the third place, the turn of the century itself proved a psychological moment for fresh hope and courage and the slogan became current, "The nineteenth century belonged to the United States: the twentieth century will be Canada's." The Canadian thus acquired a doctrine of "manifest destiny." In the East, the epoch of the struggle with pioneer conditions had drawn to a close and the amenities of a growing culture were apparent. To be sure, thousands of young men were leaving the farms in Ontario and in the Maritime provinces for the virgin soil of the prairies, but this movement of the people was seen only as a means of greater wealth and a larger life. In the minutes of church councils held in the years 1900–1901, one finds reflected in various resolutions both hope and faith in the unlimited possibilities which Canadians envisaged for their country in the century just dawning.

THE METHODIST GENERAL CONFERENCE AT WINNIPEG IN 1902

The decennial census of 1901 had indicated that the Methodist Church, which had marked a steady gain in every preceding decade, now claimed the preference of only 17.07 per cent. of the population as against 17.54 per cent. of the population in 1891. The Presbyterian Church had made a slight advance, from 15.63 per cent. in 1891 to 15.68 per cent. in 1901. The Congregational Church had shown its usual decline from .62 per cent. to .58 per cent. In that very year a commission from the Congregational Union of England and Wales visited Canada to study the situation, and recommended what might be done on the part of English Congregationalists to help the Canadian churches.[2] On their return to England they reported that the outstanding difficulty was that of debt. If the Congregational churches could lift the staggering burden of debt, then they would be "free to serve." The English churches, therefore, issued a challenge of conditional help, which the Canadian Congregationalists accepted with gratifying results, only to discover that the malady was deeper than one of dollars and cents.

Soon after the census results had been announced, the General Conference of the Methodist Church held its quadrennial meeting, for the first time in Winnipeg. Prior to the meeting the *Winnipeg Free Press* commented editorially on the coming gathering, and stated that the Methodists would discover that their future in Canada was linked up with their future in the western provinces. Undoubtedly, the realization of this fact had determined the selection of Winnipeg as the place of meeting. In his opening address as General Superintendent, Dr. Albert Carman called attention to the decline in the growth of Methodism in the decade and commented on the fact that for the first time in its history an unfavorable statistical report on its growth was presented. He asked the ministers to consider whether the old-fashioned penitents' bench was being used as much as it should. He also stressed the fact that the serious matter before this conference was the discovery of men and of the most effective and economical ways of placing these men in this new land. This was the keynote of the conference.

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[2] This commission was in Winnipeg in September at the very time the Methodist General Conference was meeting.

On September 8, the Winnipeg Presbytery was also in session, and, among other matters dealt with, received into the Presbyterian ministry a Congregational minister serving at Gretna, Manitoba, and considered an overture from the joint Presbyterian and Methodist congregations at Selkirk against overlapping. On the preceding day, the fraternal delegates appointed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church appeared before the Conference and brought greetings. The deputation consisted of Dr. George P. Bryce, the Moderator, Principal Patrick, of Manitoba College, and Dr. C. W. Gordon (Ralph Connor). Dr. Bryce spoke first. He pointed out that these two churches were to be the outstanding factors in the religious development of the Northwest, and that they had much in common: (1) Their form of government was much the same; (2) they had fought the same battles for religious liberty in Canada, viz., against the appropriation of the Clergy Reserves to any one church and on behalf of the right of ministers of all recognized denominations to perform the marriage ceremony; (3) they were much at one on the temperance question, and although they had not yet managed to carry a prohibition resolution through the General Assembly, he was sure that the two churches were entirely agreed on the need of prohibition.[3] When Dr. Bryce had concluded his address, the General Superintendent offered to license him as a Methodist exhorter!

Principal Patrick spoke next. He referred to the fact that the history of the Canadian church had been a history of unions and consolidations. In Canada there had been the first demonstration of the consolidation of Methodism and of the consolidation of Presbyterianism. Had the time not come for an advance into something grander still—a great national church? What had effected the union of Christendom in the foreign field? (N.B. The Ecumenical Conference at New York, in 1900, may have stimulated this sense of unity.) It was the need, and it was the need in Canada, which advised the religious forces of the Dominion to seek union.

Principal Patrick had only been in Canada two years, but these two years had been spent in the West, where he had seen the necessity for avoiding the overlapping in the pioneer communities; and he spoke with such conviction and intensity that he is generally regarded as the father of the Church Union movement in the Dominion. A man of great intellectual power, but suffering from a defective digestive system, he mingled the finest logic with a withering scorn of those too blind to see, and not a little of the controversy in the early years of the discussion reflected favorable or unfavorable reactions to Principal Patrick as much as to the issues involved.

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[3] These points in his address were reported in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, September 9, 1902.

The third speaker was the Rev. C. W. Gordon, D.D., who pointed out that both churches faced a common foe in the West, not the foe of unbelief or agnosticism, but rather the foe of materialism. The West could think of nothing but wheat! Both churches should be at one in contending for the supremacy of spiritual values.

These three addresses, taken together, really sum up the essential arguments adduced at the time for the organic unification of the religious forces, and incidentally suggest only one point where, perhaps, there might be some difficulty, viz., the prohibition issue. They made so strong an appeal that church union was freely talked about, especially as memorials urging it had previously been submitted to the Committee on Church Union. By September 17, the Congregational fraternal delegates appeared, consisting of Drs. D. S. Hamilton and J. B. Silcox, and the first of these, referring to the rumors in the air of a possible union between the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, added, "that if all the near relatives are to be invited, the Congregationalists will expect an invitation to the wedding." The latter, who had lived in the West many years, expressed a doubt whether the Methodists and Presbyterians were yet ready to unite, but hoped that at least they would continue to coöperate in the work of the Kingdom.

The following day, September the 18th, the Committee on Church Union reported to what the *Winnipeg Free Press* calls "a thin house." Dr. Shaw, its chairman, said that with all the talk of union in the air, there were only three options which it confronted: (a) a dignified silence; (b) a resolution of sympathy with the idea of union; (c) a definite step towards the same. It had consequently decided to introduce resolutions inviting the other denominations to appoint committees to confer with one of theirs on the feasibility of organic union, and called for the appointment of their own Standing Committee in the matter.[4]

There was very little discussion of the resolutions, and practically only two addresses questioning their timeliness. Dr. John Potts intimated that he was not ready for it and hoped to "die a Methodist." Dr. E. E. Scott, of Vancouver, suggested that federation would be a better way. These resolutions, however, were put to the "thin house" and carried practically unanimously. The Church Union enterprise had been launched.

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[4] For text of complete resolutions, see Appendix B.

PART TWO

NEGOTIATIONS FOR UNION, 1902–1925

CHAPTER VI

Preparing the Basis of Union

The overture from the Methodist General Conference of 1902, suggesting conferences on organic union, was favorably received by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at its meeting in Vancouver, 1903, and by the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec and the Congregational Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the same year. These bodies appointed committees to represent them at a preliminary parley which was held in Toronto on April 21, 1904. At this meeting, a resolution was passed declaring that organic union was both "desirable and practicable," and commending "the whole subject to the sympathetic and favorable consideration of the chief assemblies of the churches concerned for such further action as they may deem wise and expedient." The conveners of the three denominational committees then decided to call the first joint meeting in Knox Church, Toronto, December 21, 1904, on which date, it may be claimed, the actual work of preparing a basis of union for submission to the churches really began.[1]

The years 1904–1925 may perhaps be divided into four distinct periods:

(a) The preparation of the "Basis," 1904–1910.

(b) The commitment of the negotiating denominations to the "Basis," 1910–1917.

(c) The truce, 1917–1921.

(d) The struggle to secure enabling legislation, 1921–1925.

It is necessary to consider only the main events in each of these four periods; for the records of the numerous meetings of denominational committees and joint committees, of protracted discussions in the higher courts of the churches involved, of the shifting personnel of the various committees from year to year, of the discussion in the religious and secular press regarding Church Union, and of collateral movements towards coöperation in various parts of the country, are most voluminous, and a detailed analysis of the various steps taken would in itself fill many books.

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[1] *The Basis of Union,* "as prepared by the Joint Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Methodist Church, and the Congregational Churches of Canada, and approved by the supreme courts of these churches," has been issued by The United Church of Canada, and may be obtained at the general offices, 421 Wesley Buildings, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto 2, Canada.

Unfortunately, some fundamental data for the first period 1904–1910 are already missing. After each annual meeting of the joint committee, a report was printed and given to the churches, which stated the general situation and the general conclusions reached. Copies of these printed forms are still extant. The original minutes, however, of the various sub-committees, which ought to give color to the story of these discussions, have disappeared, and one of the lessons which the course of the Church Union movement teaches is the necessity of keeping careful records of the discussion at its various stages, since these are invaluable to the church historians of the future, seeking a true understanding of the real genius of the movement. Enough material, however, does exist in printed form or may be secured in interviews with participants in the negotiations who are still living, to trace the various steps as they were taken.

THE JOINT COMMITTEE

Each of the three churches appointed a committee to confer on Church Union with the other two. These denominational committees were organized with a chairman and secretary, and held meetings separately to consider the progress of the discussion, to prepare reports to their respective denominations, to receive instructions from their denominations, and to nominate their denominational representatives on the various sub-committees which were appointed.

These three committees, meeting together, constituted the joint committee, which met five times between 1904 and 1908, during which period the basis of union was practically completed. At these meetings, the chairmen of the denominational committees presided in rotation—first a Presbyterian, then a Methodist, then a Congregationalist. There were three joint secretaries, one from each of the denominations. Between meetings of the joint committee, urgent matters were considered by an executive committee, consisting of the three chairmen of the denominational committees, the three joint secretaries, and the chairmen of various sub-committees appointed in the course of the discussion.

Sub-committees

At the first joint meeting, five sub-committees were selected to report on special topics, viz., Doctrine, Polity, Training of the Ministry, Administration, and Law. Occasionally these sub-committees were, in their turn, subdivided to deal with specific matters. Thus, the committee on the Training of the Ministry, divided itself into three parts: the first brought in suggestions regarding the pastoral office in general and especially the term of service; the second considered the proper training for the minister; the third dealt with the relation of a minister to the doctrines of the church. In a different way, the committee on Doctrine was subdivided in the interim between joint meetings into Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Halifax sections. These were supposed to work separately on a possible basis of doctrine and report their progress at the next meeting of the committee as a whole. As a matter of fact, however, only the Toronto and Montreal sub-committees made definite suggestions.

Naturally, from time to time, special committees were appointed to deal with various matters, e.g., when negotiations with Anglicans and Baptists were projected.

The sub-committees on Doctrine, Polity, the Ministry and Administration, consisted of forty members each, of whom sixteen were Methodists, sixteen were Presbyterians and eight were Congregationalists. This ratio was maintained on all committees. The committee on Law consisted of fifteen members. Naturally, the personnel of the committee shifted somewhat during the period of the discussion owing to deaths, removals, etc.

Personnel and Attendance

A study of the personnel present at the first joint meeting proves clearly that the movement was no "youth movement." From the various annuity funds it is possible to secure almost exactly the ages of all the participating ministers. The nine Congregational ministers present were on the average forty-nine years of age, the oldest being sixty-three and the youngest thirty-four years. The thirty-eight Methodist ministers present averaged sixty years of age, the oldest being seventy-three and the youngest forty-nine. The thirty-five Presbyterian ministers present averaged fifty-seven years of age, the oldest being seventy-six and the youngest thirty-seven. There can be little doubt but that the men selected represented the real leadership of the church at the time, but for the most part they were men whose mentality was, to say the least, fully matured, and from whom no radical departure would probably be expected. To this fact, one must attribute, in part, the essential conservatism of the doctrinal basis of union. In this connection, it may be noted parenthetically that a very considerable number of the men who thus launched the movement died without seeing the consummation of union. Twenty-one of the thirty-eight Methodist ministers present at the first meeting, at least nineteen of the thirty-five Presbyterians and three of the Congregationalists never saw the dawn of the United Church. The homiletically minded may find here a suggestive exegesis of the text that whereas one sows, another reaps.

A study of the attendance of the members at the first five meetings of the Joint Committee, 1904–1908, brings out a further significant fact that the proportion of lay to ministerial representation was highest among the

Methodists, next among the Congregationalists and least among the Presbyterians, thus:

Denomination	Average attendance, five meetings		
	Total	Ministers	Laymen
Congregationalists	16.6	13.0	3.6
Methodists	53.0	35.4	17.6
Presbyterians	42.4	33.6	8.8

Only at the fourth session was the total Presbyterian attendance larger than the total attendance of Methodists. For every ten of their ministers present, therefore, the Congregationalists had 2.8 laymen; the Methodists 4.9, and the Presbyterians only 2.6. This fact may have some significance in the light of the final outcome when the percentage of Presbyterian ministers entering the United Church was larger than the percentage of Presbyterian churches. The attendance of the Presbyterian representatives at the five meetings was as follows:

	Ministers	Laymen
First meeting	35	10
Second meeting	30	11
Third meeting	29	9
Fourth meeting	43	8
Fifth meeting	31	6

Too much, however, must not be deduced from these facts, although the higher lay representation of the Methodists does not seem to be purely fortuitous but due rather to the settled policy of the Methodist Church. It deserves special consideration in the light of the charge, frequently directed against the Methodist machine, that it was an autocracy and a hierarchy, while the Presbyterians stressed the importance of lay control through the eldership.

As all the meetings of the joint committee were held in Toronto, where the Presbyterian and Methodist headquarters were both located, the proportion of the members present from Toronto was high compared with that of those living outside of the city. As already intimated, an effort was made, especially in the committee on Doctrine, to distribute the responsibility for basis-finding more widely by sectional meetings in Montreal, Halifax and Winnipeg, as well as Toronto. Some have averred that in the later days of the discussion, tension developed between some Presbyterian leaders in Montreal and others in Toronto, but there is little evidence of such strains in the first period of the discussion, and many of the suggestions proposed by the Montreal section of the sub-committee on Doctrine were incorporated in the "Basis."

Organization

Turning from a consideration of personnel to methods used in organization and discussion, it is important to note that the day before the joint committee held its first meeting, the three denominational committees held separate meetings at which they discussed moot questions and to some degree formulated proposals for procedure in the joint committee. The following day, in joint sessions, the results of these three separate discussions were reported, and in general the concrete proposals of the Presbyterian committee were accepted, viz., that there should first be an informal parley on four points, Doctrine, Polity, Training of the Ministry and Administration, after which the denominational committees would again meet by themselves to evaluate what had happened and to determine whether it was deemed advisable to proceed further to the appointment of special committees to deal more intensively with these four matters as well as with other questions of importance. This was therefore done, and it was eventually decided to appoint, in addition to the four sub-committees, a fifth subcommittee on Law. When the membership of these five committees had been selected, the first joint meeting was closed, after it had been decided to print and circulate a report of the conversations to date, and had been definitely stated that

> "the union of the churches, to be real and lasting, must carry the consent of the entire membership, and that no final step could be taken until ample time had been given to consider the whole question in the courts of the various churches and by the people generally."

The second conference met a year later, and received reports from the various sub-committees. Only the committees on Doctrine, Polity and the Ministry had as yet held any serious meeting, and these interim reports were first considered in the joint committee and then in the various denominational committees meeting separately. The general results seemed to all quite encouraging.

The Congregational Viewpoint

The third conference met exactly a year later, and at this time confirmed the action taken by the Executive on the suggestion of the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1906 (and endorsed by the Methodist General Conference of 1906) in extending an invitation to Anglicans and Baptists to participate in the negotiations. The outcome of these overtures must be considered separately. It had become a custom at each meeting of the joint committee to hear first the reaction of the higher courts of the three churches to the progress of the negotiations; and it is notable that both the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Conference of the Methodist Church confined themselves to expressions of general approbation and sympathy, leaving only the Congregationalists to temper their approval with definite criticisms and suggestions. The Congregational Unions formally urged four things:

(1) That any summary of the Christian doctrine of the United Church should be simpler than the proposed statement and lay greater emphasis on Christian experience and conduct.

(2) That in the matter of a minister's subscription to the creed, "it should be so framed as to make the determination of a man's soundness in the faith, rest as closely as possible with the living church."

(3) That, for the full recognition of the possibility of the progress of thought, under the guidance of the spirit of God, the most ample constitutional provision be made for welcoming and giving due consideration to any proposal for the revision of the standards of the church.

(4) That more ample opportunity for the preservation of the "ideal of full responsibility and large Christian duty set before the members of the local church," be guaranteed in the constitution of the United Church.

It is not without significance that the smallest of the three bodies presented its objections most fully in the initial stages of the discussion and thus forced the reconsideration of these matters, and encouraged by counsel from the Congregational Union of England and Wales, kept up its plea for the supremacy of Christian experience over creedal formula to the very end. The Congregationalists did not, however, succeed in effecting any marked simplification of the creed, but they did succeed in eliminating the necessity of absolute subscription to it by the minister. The United Church ultimately formed did grant the completely autonomous churches that entered it the continuity of such autonomy, but in general the polity was that of a highly connexional body. The fullest statement of the right of the church to revise its standards was only included in the later days of the discussion, when the Presbyterians found themselves confronted with serious legal problems relating to trust funds. Emulating the Church of Scotland, which in the Declaratory Act of 1921 affirmed the complete freedom of the church to determine its own standards, the Presbyterians insisted on including in the Act of Parliament creating the United Church a very definite statement of the powers of the living church, such as the Congregationalists had contended for with but small success, fifteen years earlier.

Basis of Union Submitted

Further progress was recorded at the fourth and fifth meetings of the Joint Committee, and at last, in December, 1908, a basis of union was ready for submission to the three bodies concerned. One of the last acts of the committee was to pass resolutions, moved by Principal Gordon (Presbyterian) and seconded by Judge Leet (Congregationalist), in which, *inter alia,* it was stated:

> "The Joint Committee regard their work as now substantially completed; they commit it to the Great Head of the Church for His blessing, and to those portions of His Church which they represent with confident hope of their approval."

It is significant to note that in the early discussion, the first questions to receive immediate attention related to doctrine and training for the ministry. Even the committee on Polity made only a fragmentary report at the second conference and attributed its delay to a realization that its report was contingent on the action of the committee on Doctrine. The group thus sought first a redefinition of the gospel, only at the end of the process to stipulate quite clearly the power of the living church to re-interpret that gospel and to modify or alter its doctrine from time to time as it saw fit. Without venturing into the philosophical problem as to whether the gospel creates the church or the church creates the gospel, one may raise the question whether under the circumstances it might not have been more advisable for the group to have first developed a theory of the church in its relation to the modern world, and in the light of its decision on that point, to have proceeded to a consideration of all other matters logically subordinate to a conception of the church. At all events, it may be noted that the real difficulties were not found so much in the matters first discussed as in those that were dealt with last; the water got deeper as the negotiators proceeded from doctrine to training of the ministry; from training of the ministry to polity; from polity to administration; and from administration to law. In law the difficulties seemed almost insuperable, and to them a whole chapter in this report has of necessity been devoted.

Withdrawal of Baptists

Before the "Basis" had been formulated, the movement to include the Baptists had either broken down or died out. The Regular and Free Baptists in the Maritime provinces had been united in a Maritime Convention in 1906, and the new body expressed a willingness to confer on a federal union. Both groups appointed negotiating committees, but apparently the matter was not pushed. The Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec appointed a committee, which met with a sub-committee of the Joint Committee, but after brief negotiations they drew up a statement denying "that organic union of all Christians is an essential condition of Christian unity or even necessarily promotive of it." After stating certain distinctive emphases made by Baptists, the document concluded:

"It is because of these principles, which represent to them the Divine Will that the Baptists find it necessary to maintain a separate existence. In relation to these matters they can feel themselves under a Divinely imposed obligation to propagate their views throughout the world." [2]

Such an attitude necessarily rendered further negotiations unnecessary and probably influenced those charged with conferring with the Maritime Baptists to proceed no further. Some of those who formulated this report have since expressed their regret that the Baptist Church did not dare more, and an interesting sequel may perhaps be found in the fact that in its endeavor to clarify its own mind as to the distinctive principles which Baptists cherish, that denomination in Ontario and Quebec has since split into a number of groups which have engaged in bitter and severe controversy. At the present time there seems no clear agreement as to what the distinctive principles are.

The Anglican Position

The Anglicans were also, at first, very cordial in their response, but stated that no individual bishop could take any initiative in the matter unless first authorized to do so by the General Synod, which would not meet before 1908. When the synod met, it authorized the appointment of a committee *"as long as the Joint Committee would be willing to remember that our delegates are, of necessity, limited to the lines laid down at the last session of the Lambeth Conference."* It offered to proceed on this basis or, if it was preferred, to await the issue of the existing negotiations when it might open the question afresh with the United Church that might have been formed. To this the Joint Committee replied:

> This resolution of the Lambeth Conference and the document as a whole seem, in the judgment of this Joint Committee, to require the acceptance of Episcopacy in the ordinary sense of the term as a prior condition of negotiations for union with the Church of England in Canada. The Joint Committee regret that they are unable to accede this condition.
>
> "While, however, the Joint Committee's interpretation of the proposal submitted by the General Synod appears to be the only interpretation which that proposal will bear, should it hereafter appear from any authoritative source that the Church of England in Canada interprets the Lambeth resolution in a different sense, and is prepared to enter on free and equal terms, into negotiations for union, the Special Committee of this Joint Committee, already appointed for the purpose, will gladly welcome any delegation duly authorized to treat with them as to union. Their pleasure will be all the greater because they heartily concur in the opinion expressed by the General Synod, that there is no serious obstacle to union as regards the first three articles of the Lambeth Quadrilateral, relating

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[2] The full text of this statement may be found in Appendix C.

to the Holy Scriptures, the great creeds of antiquity, and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper."

At the same session, the basis of union as submitted to the churches was completed, and Anglican participation was not again seriously considered until 1921.

Lack of Educational Effort in Preliminary Stages

In the first general period of preparing the "Basis," there is no evidence of any serious educational effort to encourage a study of the issues involved in the rank and file of the membership of the church. To be sure, the Joint Committee after each meeting sent a printed report of its discussion to all the churches, and invited suggestions relative to any of the matters under consideration, and the Methodist General Conference ordered a special day of prayer for the negotiations and special sermons on the subject in all the churches. The religious and secular press, moreover, kept up a running discussion of the whole undertaking; but there does not seem to have been any careful thought for the more adequate preparation of the minds and hearts of the membership of the churches until the negotiations had reached the stage of bitter controversy about 1921. Then a special committee on Literature and Publicity was organized, in an effort to save the Presbyterian Church for the union to which the General Assembly had committed it. *In all the procedure followed, the weakest link is in the lack of appreciation of the fundamental need of education and educational technique to create better understanding and a receptive attitude towards the whole problem.*

MAJOR PROBLEMS INVOLVED

With these general observations, we may now pass on to a consideration of the major problems which arose in the course of the discussion itself during the preparation of the Basis of Union. It is reasonable to consider these under the same headings as those assumed by the sub-committees, viz., Doctrine, The Ministry, Polity, Administration and Law, although the treatment of the problems of law proved so intricate that an entire chapter has been given to their elucidation.

Problems in Doctrine

It is necessary to dwell somewhat on the prevailing state of theological thought in Canada at the time that the Basis of Union was being prepared. The dominant school in philosophy was the Kantian-Hegelian, which had been taught most notably in the University of Toronto, by Prof. George Paxton Young, and at Queen's University, by Prof. John Watson. The "new psychology" was practically unknown, although an experimental laboratory had been established in the University of Toronto under the direction of Prof. August Kirschmann, a pupil of Wilhelm Wundt. The higher criticism was tardy in reaching Canada, although a Methodist professor, Dr. George C. Workman, who had studied in Germany, had been retired from the chair of Old Testament Exegesis at Victoria College in 1892 for views on "Messianic prophecy." Principal Grant and Prof. W. G. Jordan, of Queens, had also given guidance to students confronting the problems of biblical interpretation raised by the historical method. Prof. J. F. McCurdy, of the University of Toronto, had published his *History, Prophecy and the Monuments; or Israel and the Nations* in 1894. A marked popular change in the interpretation of the Scriptures, however, is only noted after the arrival, at Knox College, Toronto, of Profs. J. E. McFadyen and H. A. A. Kennedy, under the impact of whose scholarship the more mechanical theories of biblical inspiration were modified. One of the first men to bring a fresh interpretation of Christian truth to the Congregational churches was Principal John Frederick Stevenson, whose sojourn in Montreal, 1876–1886, left a marked influence on the city. Even so, in the first decade of the twentieth century, there was much controversy over the Bible. The Bible League carried on a fight against what was considered the rationalistic treatment of the Bible in the University of Toronto, and between 1905 and 1910 the Methodist Church was shaken by an attack on Prof. George Jackson, an English Wesleyan minister, who both taught at Victoria College and held the pastorate of the Sherbourne Street Methodist Church, Toronto. At the forefront of those opposed to Professor Jackson's teaching was the General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, Dr. Albert Carman. In such an intellectual atmosphere no radical departures in theology on the part of those negotiating a basis of union was probable.

Neither was radicalism probable in the light of the advanced ages of those participating in the discussion. With few exceptions, these men had been trained in the old school and had not experienced, to any great extent, the multiple sceptical movements which shook Christendom immediately prior to, during and after the World War.

Further, all three churches were essentially conservative in their doctrinal formularies. Some suspected a Unitarian strain in Congregationalism, but while the Congregationalists were temperamentally opposed to the imposition of any creed as a test for either members or ministers, they had repeatedly expressed themselves as on the side of orthodoxy. In the report of the Union Committee of 1873, they denied any fear of heretics, but admitted that they suffered greatly from ministerial interlopers who used the freedom of the Congregational polity for their own selfish ends. In 1878, they congratulated the Congregational Union of England and Wales for its stand in opposition "to the aims and tendencies of scepticism and unbelief" and "the rationalistic theology of our age." In 1886, the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec accepted as its own the statement of doctrine, consisting of twelve articles, which had been prepared three years before by the National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States. Canadian Congregationalism was thus essentially conservative and fought less against doctrine than against the accepted use of formularies as tests.

The Methodist Church found its doctrine clearly defined in the Book of Discipline, chapter i, section 1:

> "The doctrines of the Methodist Church are declared to be those contained in the twenty-five Articles of Religion, and those taught by the Reverend John Wesley, M.A., in his Notes on the New Testament, and in the first fifty-two sermons of the first series of his discourses, published during his lifetime."

This doctrinal basis had been incorporated in the terms of Methodist union effected in 1874, and again in 1884. The basis of union of 1884 was annexed to the Act of Parliament of the same year creating the Methodist Church, Canada, and by section 19 of the said Act the rules, regulations and discipline adopted in the basis were made binding upon the church "until the same shall have been altered or varied in accordance with the provisions therein contained." Among the provisions contained in the basis were those which gave full power to the Quadrennial General Conference to make rules and regulations for the church, under the following limitations and restrictions:

> 1. It shall not revoke, alter or change any Article of Religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine, contrary to our existing and established Standards of Doctrine.
> 2. It shall not destroy the plan of our itinerant system.

The only way, therefore, in which the Methodist Church could act in accordance with its own genius was both to reaffirm the doctrinal standards and to approve the further articles prepared by the Joint Committee as not "contrary to existing and established standards of doctrine."

The Presbyterian Church in Canada had accepted as its "subordinate standard" of doctrine, the Westminster Confession of Faith. This had been prepared by the Assembly of Divines (Presbyterians, Anglicans and Congregationalists) at Westminster, approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1647, ratified by acts of the Scottish Parliament 1649 and 1690, and by the latter act made binding upon the Church of Scotland. Chapter xxxi of this Confession, however, "Of Synods and Councils," Section III, states categorically that

> "it belongeth to synods and councils ministerially to determine controversies of faith, and cases of conscience . . . which decrees and determinations, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not

> only for their agreement with the word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his word,"

although Section IV admitted that "all synods or councils since the apostles' times [apparently including the assembly of divines itself] whether general or particular, may err, etc."

It would thus seem that the very acceptance of the Westminster Confession carried with it the recognition of the authority of the higher courts of the church to re-interpret the doctrine of the church.

The powers of the General Assembly are also dealt with in the "Rules and Forms of Procedure, Presbyterian Church in Canada," Section 120:

> "The Assembly may pass a Declaratory Act affirming what it understands to be the law of the Church regarding any particular matter; and such act may be passed without submission to Presbyteries. But any action contemplating a change in the law of the Church is dealt with according to the provisions of the following act."

The next section, 121, describes the Barrier Act and provides that "no prepared law or rule relative to matters of doctrine, discipline, government or worship, shall become a permanent enactment until the same has been submitted to Presbyteries for consideration."

The underlying assumption in these sections would seem to be that the General Assembly, by due process under the Barrier Act, had the right to enact new legislation relative to doctrine. Whether this be the true assumption or not, the General Assembly had actually modified the doctrine of the church. At the very creation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, in 1875, the agreed basis of union stipulated that,

> "nothing contained in the aforesaid Confession and Catechisms, regarding the power and duty of the civil magistrate, shall be held to sanction any principles or views inconsistent with full liberty of conscience in matters of worship."

Again, in 1887, the provisions in the Westminster Confession regarding the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister (Chapter xxiv, Section IV) had been modified, after due action under the Barrier Act and accompanied by a few dissents.

So far as the Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1690, decreeing for all time the Westminster Confession as the doctrinal basis of the Church of Scotland, was concerned, it could hardly be maintained that this assumed prerogative of the Scottish Parliament was applicable to the Dominion of Canada.

The right of re-interpretation would therefore seem, so far as Canada was concerned, to be implicit in both Presbyterian theory and practice.

The Joint Committee obviated any legal difficulties, however, by adding a preamble to the doctrinal statement which it prepared, and in which it is clearly affirmed that

> "We further maintain our allegiance to the evangelical doctrines of the Reformation, as set forth in common in the doctrinal standards adopted by the Presbyterian Church in Canada, by the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, and by the Methodist Church. We present the accompanying statement as a brief summary of our common faith, and commend it to the studious attention of the members and adherents of the negotiating churches, as in substance agreeable to the teaching of the Holy Scripture."

Hereafter followed twenty articles, most of which are couched in conventional terms of orthodoxy, and in the composition of which the main desire of the negotiators was not to prepare a new creed, but rather to restate the ancient faith in such a way that the distinctive emphases of Presbyterianism and Methodism, of Calvinism and Arminianism, would both be recognized. It is significant that there is little original material in the document, with the exception of an article on prayer, added later by the Presbyterian Union Committee to meet certain criticisms which arose in that church. No article seems to owe anything, so far as its wording is concerned, to either the Westminster Confession or the twenty-five articles of Methodism, but one article, XII, was taken almost bodily from the Congregational Statement of 1886. For the rest, they are a composite of the Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith, prepared by the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., in 1905, and the Articles of the Faith of the Presbyterian Church in England, prepared in 1890.[8]

The new articles are, therefore, substantially Presbyterian in form and content, although expanded occasionally to include certain Methodist emphases. The Congregationalists fought consistently for a greater simplification of the articles, but without success, and on the whole the conclusions reached by Dr. E. Lloyd Morrow, in his analysis of the doctrinal basis in his book, *Church Union in Canada* (page 129), seem fairly sound. These conclusions may be summarized as follows:

(1) The committee or committees did not overwork themselves.
(2) They considered the drawing-up of a "creed" or "affirmation of common faith" either a very simple or an extremely difficult task.
(3) The old school of theology very largely predominated.
(4) The "Basis" was not changed to meet the progress in modern and social theology, that was forging ahead during all those years.

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[8] For a careful analysis of the sources of the doctrinal basis, see Morrow, Lloyd E., *Church Union in Canada;* Gandier, Alfred, *The Doctrinal Basis of Union and Its Relation to the Historic Creeds;* exposés of the doctrine may be found in Kilpatrick, T. B., *Our Common Faith,* and Faulds, James, *Our Doctrinal Heritage.*

(5) Very inadequate attention and respect were given to the up-to-date professors and ministers, who claim to have sent in suggestions which were turned down by the committee, on the score that the purpose of the committee was not the drawing up of a creed but the finding of points of agreement, and the setting aside of contentious differences.

(6) The "Basis" should still be thoroughly revised, or a new one drawn up to meet modern thought and needs.

(7) There is a certain amount of hopeful emancipation from objectionable dogma even in this "Basis" despite its deficiency.

Several leaders of the United Church have confided in the director of this study that it is weakest in its body of doctrine, and that the basis arrived at in the first decade of the century is of value mainly as a point of departure. One need only read, by way of comparison, the statement on "The Christian Doctrine of God" in the last Lambeth Conference (1930) report, to appreciate the vitality of the Lambeth document in contrast with that produced by the Canadian negotiators more than twenty years earlier. Nevertheless, the difficulties in the way of a "modern document" were inherent in the situation—in the time of its preparation, the country of its origin, the conservatism of the churches which united and the age of the committeemen who drafted it. While some ministers have preached upon the articles, there is very little evidence that ministers or laymen give it much attention. However, it is highly doubtful if the time is ripe for a revision. A certain clarification of the whole religious situation in the modern world would first seem necessary to the crystallization of a new and adequate theology.

Strangely enough, in the later stages of the Church Union controversy in Canada, opposition to the doctrinal basis developed in two entirely different types of Presbyterians: (1) one group felt that the Westminster Confession, with all its ancient sanctity, was being discarded in the interests of a spurious, modernistic, milk-and-water gospel, and (2) another group felt that the doctrinal basis was hopelessly antiquated and entirely inadequate for the modern age. Both of these groups may be found today among those who remained with the Presbyterian churches that refused to enter the union.

Problems Concerning the Ministry

The sub-committee on the Ministry did not seem to devote any time to a consideration of the nature of the ministry in itself. The sub-committee on Doctrine had included, however, Article XVI, which stated the prevailing attitude of the negotiating bodies in regard to the ministry. This article reads:

"We believe that Jesus Christ, as the Supreme Head of the Church, has appointed therein a ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and calls men to this ministry; that the Church, under the guidance of the Spirit of Christ, recognizes and chooses those whom He calls and should thereupon duly ordain them to the work of the ministry."

It was not until after The United Church of Canada had been definitely organized that a committee prepared a statement concerning Ordination to the Ministry,[4] which sought in 258 pages to present proofs (1) "that the existing ministry of The United Church of Canada is a true ministry of the Church of God," and (2) "That those ordained by The United Church of Canada have a true ministry in the Church of God." This document was prepared with the desire to secure for The United Church of Canada "fullest intercourse with sister churches throughout the world and . . . to promote Christian re-union."

There is little evidence, however, that any such elaborate discussion took place during the preparation of the "Basis." The negotiators seems to have assumed the validity of Orders in all three churches.

The work of the sub-committee, therefore, was restricted to three major problems: (1) The pastoral office, including term of service. (2) Training for the ministry. (3) Relation of a minister to the doctrines of the church.

THE PASTORAL OFFICE: The first problem emerged from the difference in the practice of the Methodist Church, on the one hand, and the practices of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches, on the other. The Methodist Church had not only inherited the system of itineracy of ministers, but in the previous bases of Methodist unions the General Conference had been definitely prohibited from making any change in the itineracy system. It was not generally held that the essence of the itineracy system was in a time limit to the pastorate, since the Methodist Church had already on different occasions lengthened the term of pastorate, but this church had at the same time consistently maintained the power of the settlement committee of the Annual Conference to locate men on the principle that "every congregation shall have as far as possible a pastorate without interruption and every effective minister shall have a church."

The question confronting the negotiators, therefore, was one of harmonizing this system with that practised by the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, both of whom cherished the right of the local congregation to call its minister. The Methodists had no intention of yielding the essence of the itineracy, feeling that in the Presbyterian and Congregational churches a minister was too much at the mercy of the congregation which he served. The Methodists also felt that the system of preaching for a call was undignified and reprehensible. The Presbyterians and the Congregationalists, on the other hand, would not tolerate the apparently dictatorial powers of a stationing committee and believed that in many instances ministers who did not acquiesce in the system were too easily removed to undesirable pastures, while the more subservient or politically-minded often exerted undue influence to secure what they wanted. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists further believed that the itineracy system was largely responsible for an alleged relatively lower standard of preaching in the Methodist Church than in the other two churches, since it encouraged the periodic turning-over of the "barrel" and discouraged the continuous study which the longer pastorate demanded.

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[4] This important document was published in 1926.

Both sides, however, recognized that the vices of the respective systems were accompanied by virtues; on the one hand, the itineracy did protect the minister and enabled him to be the spokesman of the church, without weakening the discipline or policies of the church in the interest of influential people in the local congregation; and the stationing committee made impossible extended interregnums between pastorates and the frequent controversy between parties in a local church espousing different candidates for the pastorate. On the other hand, the call system was practically already in force in the larger and more influential Methodist churches and seemed on the whole much more consonant with democratic procedure than appointments by a stationing committee.

The sub-committee on the Ministry, therefore, proposed a synthesis of the two systems. The term of the pastoral office was to be without any time limit. The individual congregation should have the power to call a minister if it desired to exercise that prerogative, but the right of appointment of a minister to a parish was vested in the settlement committee of the conference. This settlement committee was thus given large powers which were only limited by the spirit of the negotiations and the assumption that the right to call should be respected, but Section I, 7 (c) of the Basis of Union, dealing with the ministry and reading as follows,

> "while the right of appointment shall rest with the Settlement Committee, it shall comply *as far as possible* with the expressed wishes of ministers and pastoral charges,"

was not in the original "Basis" issued in 1908, but added later in the hope of strengthening the case of those who insisted on the freedom of the local congregation to call whom they chose.

The actual working out of this attempted compromise between two systems of appointing ministers has proved to be perhaps the greatest difficulty within the United Church, and the problems which have arisen in connection with it deserve extended elucidation elsewhere in this report.

The negotiators, however, seemed to feel that the difficulties would solve themselves. There is some evidence that the Methodists felt that, in the terms of the "Basis," they had preserved the essence of the itineracy, while the Presbyterians who favored Union and the Congregationalists thought that the settlement committee would only be convened for a more or less formal registration of the expressed desires of ministers and churches.

TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY: A second point which called for considerable thought related to the training for the ministry, and in this connection it is necessary to point out certain conditions which prevailed in Canada at this time. The Congregationalists had early established a college in Montreal where the majority of the Congregational ministers in Canada were trained. The student body was quite small and to a very considerable degree it was reinforced by recruits from the old country. An effort was made to urge all candidates for the ministry to take a course in arts preliminary to the work in theology or in connection with it. Nevertheless a survey of all the graduates of the Canadian Congregational College, in 1903, indicates that more than two-thirds of such graduates held no degrees in either arts or theology. Only 51 degrees of various kinds were held by the 147 graduates, as follows:

Arts or Philosophy	36
Theology	10
Medicine	3
Law	2

The Methodist Church had at an early date sought to train a Canadian-born ministry, and to this end established several universities and theological schools. The standard of training was steadily rising, although the extension of the frontier had necessitated a very considerable use of lay preachers and possibly an occasional over-readiness to ordain men for the work. The academic standing of Methodist ministers may perhaps be gathered from an analysis of the degrees held by all the ministers in the Toronto Conference in the year 1902. Of 316 Methodist ministers on the roll of this conference, in this year, 210 held no degree of any kind, while 106 held a total of 142 different degrees as follows:

B.A. or Ph.D.	50
M.A.	27
B.D.	25
D.D.	23
LL.D. or LL.B.	7
Other degrees	10
	142

A number of the doctorates in divinity were presumably granted *honoris causa.* It will be seen that the number of men who had taken a full arts course was perhaps fewer than 25 per cent.

The Presbyterians prided themselves on the academic standards which they set for their ministers. Even so, an analysis of all the Presbyterian ministers on the roll of the various presbyteries, Kingston excepted, in the Synod of Toronto, shows that of 344 ministers 151 or 43.9 per cent. held no degrees of any kind, while 193 held among them 218 degrees. Since the boundaries of the Synod of Toronto, the Presbytery of Kingston excepted, were almost coterminous with those of the Toronto Conference of the Methodist Church, the comparison between the academic records of the Presbyterian and the Methodist ministers in this area would seem to provide a fair index of the situation in the country generally. In this area 43.9 per cent. of the Presbyterian ministers and 66.5 per cent. of the Methodist ministers held no academic degrees of any kind. Furthermore, in the very year, 1902, when the Church Union movement was launched, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in its effort to secure a sufficient number of men to man every new parish in the Northwest, adopted a scheme "to be a temporary expedient, to be operated over seven years only, for the training and employment of minister-evangelists."[5] It will thus be seen there was a real desire on the part of the negotiating churches to maintain high academic standards for their respective ministers, but the pressing demands of the mission fields were making compromises of various kinds necessary in all three denominations.

The aims of the three denominations in this respect were quite similar, and the negotiators were consequently able to provide a variety of roads for candidates for the ministry. These roads were as follows:

(a) The validity of the orders held by ministers already serving the three negotiating churches was unquestioned, and nothing appears in the Basis of Union which deals with their status. It is assumed that they were to become at once duly recognized ministers in the United Church.

(b) For those who were not already in the ministry of the three churches, the following alternative courses were provided:

(1) Those who were in training at the time when union was consummated, would be permitted to continue their training on the former system, provided that they completed their work within three years after the consummation of union.

(2) Those who entered training after union was consummated should have certain options:

a) The acquisition of a B.A. degree, followed by three years in theology, was recommended. Before ordination, however, at least one year must be spent in preaching and pastoral work.

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[5] See Minutes of General Assembly, 1902, pp. 310, 311; also Minutes, 1903, p. 61.

b) If it did not seem possible for the candidate to take a full arts course, he might either (i) take three years in arts followed by three in theology and one year in preaching and pastoral work, or (ii) engage in preaching for two years, do special reading under supervision of presbytery, and follow the same with four years of mixed arts and theology.

The Basis of Union suggested curricula for these various options, but of course, it was not intended to prescribe the future course of theological education in Canada. (The determination of the courses of study today for all theological colleges is in the hands of the Board of Education of the United Church.)

(3) In addition to these normal provisions, power was given to the General Council of the United Church of "ordaining any person to the ministry if it sees fit so to do." This, presumably, was to cover extraordinary cases, where men of small academic attainments but of rare spiritual power might find their due authority for the ministry of the Word.

The Basis of Union, however, did not consider the procedure to be followed when ministers already ordained in other churches in Canada, or in Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational or even other churches outside of Canada, should seek service in the United Church. These matters, however, had to be dealt with soon after the actual consummation of the union.

RELATION TO DOCTRINES: The third problem faced by the negotiators, that of the relation of the minister to the doctrine of the church, created the most discussion, since at this point Presbyterian and Methodist procedure was diametrically opposed to the Congregational conscience. The Congregational churches had always insisted that creeds should be used only as general expressions of faith most commonly held, and never as tests. In part their intense attitude on this point must be traced historically to the struggle between the State and the Dissenting churches in England, but in part it was temperamental and they shared with the Baptists an unwillingness to substitute formal theology for religious experience. On the other hand, they were not, as has already been pointed out, radical in their theology, nor were they indifferent to a minister's theological attitudes. Indeed, at their ordination councils, they submitted the candidate to a most rigorous examination both of his religious experience and of his theology, and did not proceed to ordination unless they were convinced that the applicant had "the root of the matter" in him; but they despised a formal avowal of a statement of doctrine as disconsonant with New Testament standards and as conducive to hypocrisy.

Both the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, on the other hand, propounded a series of formal questions to all candidates. The Methodist questions are contained in Section 168 of the Discipline and cover a variety of subjects, from doctrine to the applicant's attitude to debt, "snuff, tobacco and intoxicating drinks." The only question regarding doctrine on which the personal reaction of the candidate was invited concerned his views on Infant Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The remaining questions, except those on his religious experience and his call to the work, could be answered simply "Yes" or "No."

The Presbyterians were less inquisitive concerning the candidate's personal habits, but equally insisted on an oath of fealty to the doctrine and the courts of the Church.[6] A question which may sometimes have required a dexterity in casuistry was the seventh: "Have you directly or indirectly used any undue means to procure this call?"

The sub-committee on the Ministry, easily agreed that "the duty of inquiry into the personal character, doctrinal beliefs and general fitness of candidates for the ministry shall be laid upon the Presbytery, District Meeting or Association." But when the committee went further and sought to formulate definite questions to be put to the candidates, the Congregationalists steadfastly resisted for more than a year, and finally succeeded in eliminating the use of tests which were objectionable to them. In conversations with survivors, it is generally admitted that the modification of the "Basis" regarding the minister's subscription to the doctrine was due, in large part, to the Rev. J. K. Unsworth, D.D., now living at Victoria, B. C., a Congregational minister who later entered the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Survivors claim that he converted the members of the joint committee to a recognition of the futility of formal assent to doctrine. The provisions which finally proved acceptable were as follows:

> "These candidates shall be examined on the Statement of Doctrine of The United Church, and shall, before ordination, satisfy the examining body that they are in essential agreement therewith, and that as ministers of the Church they accept the statement as in substance agreeable to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures.

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[6] For the attitude of Canadian Presbyterians re Subscription to a Creed, see "Statement Concerning Ordination to the Ministry," prepared and issued by order of the General Council of The United Church of Canada, 1926, especially pages 55 sqq.:

"Subscription to the standards has been a practice in the Presbyterian Church of Canada, but only as a matter of ecclesiastical procedure. The Basis of Union of 1875 contains no formula of subscription, but the Form of Presbyterial Church-Government, approved in it, states: 'The minister who hath preached shall, in the face of the congregation, demand of him who is now to be ordained concerning his faith in Christ Jesus, and his persuasion of the truth of the reformed religion.' In 1878 a formula, which had been submitted under the Barrier Act, was adopted. This formula was a modification of that adopted by the Church of Scotland in 1694 and enlarged in 1711."

"Further, in the ordination service before the Conference these candidates shall answer the following questions:

"(1) Do you believe yourself to be a child of God, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ?

"(2) Do you believe yourself to be called of God to the office of the Christian ministry, and your chief motives to be zeal for the glory of God, love for the Lord Jesus Christ, and desire for the salvation of men?

"(3) Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrines required for eternal salvation in our Lord Jesus Christ, and are you resolved out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing which is not agreeable thereto?"

The Congregationalists felt that in maintaining an adamant front on this point, they were not only stressing the fundamental importance of religious experience but also maintaining the intellectual integrity of the ministry. An interesting story has come down in Congregational circles which illustrates the somewhat conforming attitude of some of the ministers in the other churches towards both doctrine and discipline. One of the most distinguished Presbyterian ministers in Canada was once chatting with a Congregational minister. He asked him why he did not become a Presbyterian, since Congregationalism had no future in Canada. The Congregationalist replied that he was not disposed to give his assent to the Westminster Confession as he did not believe a good many of the articles. "You take that question altogether too seriously," said the Presbyterian divine; "if I lived in New England I would be a Congregationalist; if I lived in Scotland, I would certainly be a Presbyterian; and if I lived in England, I would be an Anglican." "Yes" answered the Congregationalist, "and if you lived in Rome, you would be a Papist!"

The sub-committee on the Ministry did not consider the relation of the minister to the annuity funds of the church, although this was considered by the sub-committee on Administration and will be treated in the section of the report dealing with administration in the Basis of Union. There were various annuity, superannuation or supernumerary funds, and the bases of membership and the annuities offered were all different. Further, membership in the funds was optional with Congregationalists and Presbyterians, but compulsory with Methodists.[7] The solution proposed in the "Basis" was the merging of all the funds in one common fund, but the preservation of the *status quo* so far as the ministers already serving in any of the negotiating churches were concerned. Those who were members continued to pay what they had been paying and were assured of the same annuities. Those who were not members were permitted to continue in the United Church without joining any of the funds unless they wished to do so. But all who accepted service in the United Church, or entered it from other churches within or without Canada, were required to join the common fund, whether they wished to do so or not.

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[7] It was compulsory in Presbyterian theory, but optional in practice.

Problems in Polity

The sub-committee on Polity, after examining the forms of church government under which the negotiating churches operated, were soon able to express themselves as gratified in finding "that while the officers and courts of the negotiating churches may bear different names, there is such a substantial degree of similarity in the duties and functions of these officers and courts." While, in certain respects, this opinion was justified, it must at the same time have been due, in some degree at least, to wishful thinking.

Congregational polity in Canada was somewhat inchoate. The Congregationalists stressed their polity rather than their doctrine, but they borrowed more heavily from the independency of the Congregational churches of England and Wales than from the more highly organized polity of the churches in New England. In the early days of the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, the mother church of Congregationalism in Toronto hesitated to join the Union until a special committee assured its minister and people that the contemplated Union was to be in no sense of the word "a court of the church" with power to review proceedings in the local church.

The Congregational Union and the various "subordinated" Congregational associations were never regarded as either legislative or judicial bodies, and any attempt on their part to assume such an authority would have been challenged at once. They existed for fellowship, to provide means for common action and for the expression of a common point of view. Of course, upon occasion, these bodies might have to take cognizance of strange conduct on the part of ministers or churches, but generally speaking they could only exert discipline by cutting off a church or a minister from the privileges of fellowship.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Union devoted considerable attention to the preparation of model trust deeds to facilitate the holding of local property, and the trust deeds were so worded that the denomination, through its home missionary society, might have a reversionary interest in the property of any local church should that church disband or cease to be a Congregational church. Not a few churches, however, held their property under direct charters, and retained to the end the complete freedom to do as they chose with it. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the denomination as a whole, aided by English

Congregationalists, offered considerable assistance to nearly all the churches which sought to free themselves from debt, and in return for this help most of them accepted the provisions of the model-trust deeds. With this exception, however, the local churches were completely autonomous.

Again, while most of the churches seeking to install a new minister would call an ecclesiastical council to assist in the matter, many of them seemed to ignore the accustomed proceedings, and the denomination suffered considerably from free-lance ministers from England, and occasionally from the United States, who failed to show their credentials, if any, and used the freedom of Congregational polity for their own purposes. Thus, in 1880, the Congregational Union resolved:

> "That the ministers and delegates assembled in this Union would respectfully urge upon all Congregational churches in Canada the propriety and need of the strictest caution in summoning men who cannot furnish papers of good standing or are unwilling to be ordained or installed by the brethren whom the church may summon for that purpose."

In the year 1907 the denominational leaders in Toronto were embarrassed by the action of a more or less self-constituted minister of a self-constituted Congregational church who was brought before the courts for illegally uniting in marriage a couple, one of whom was Chinese.[8]

The various connexional societies, such as the home missionary society, foreign missionary society, Congregational College of Canada, provident fund, etc., were never "under the Union." They were organizations established for special purposes, separately incorporated, and controlled by a membership composed of individual subscribers, delegates from churches and representatives of various organizations. These societies held their annual meetings, however, in conjunction with the Union and always regarded themselves as the free agents of the denomination at large.

A careful study of the actual operation of Congregational polity in Canada would seem to confirm, at least in part, the statement of the Very Rev. Edmund H. Oliver, Moderator of the United Church, 1930-1932, that "the vicissitudes of frontier life can be endured only by churches which are closely integrated."[9] Congregationalism has difficulty in flourishing in a country sparsely settled and of magnificent distances, and where the continued life of a majority of the churches is dependent upon help from without. Independency in a closely compact country like England may prove most vigorous, but it soon dies on the frontier, unless certain other unusual dynamic qualities come to its rescue. On the frontier, it is a case of hanging together or hanging separately. While Congregationalists, therefore, approaching the problem of a polity for the United Church, felt profoundly anxious to preserve their cherished autonomy and to secure the largest possible autonomy for the local congregations in the new church, they were at the same time painfully conscious of their own weakness in facing the challenge of the adequate churching of Canada.

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[8] See *Canadian Congregationalist,* November 28, 1907.

[9] Oliver, E. H., *The Winning of the Frontier,* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1930), p. 271.

Methodism and Presbyterianism in Canada were, of course, both of them more connexional, and to a certain degree their various courts were analogous. The scheme of church organization, in 1925, may be briefly stated thus:

Methodism	Presbyterianism
General Conference (Quadrennial)	General Assembly (Annual)
12 Annual Conferences	8 Synods (Annual)
141 District Meetings	78 Presbyteries

In addition, the Methodist Church had a Court of Appeal, consisting of twelve persons, who heard and determined appeals on the basis of the recognized law of the church.

The difference of emphasis between the two denominations may be discovered by a comparison of the Methodist Book of Discipline with the Presbyterian Blue Book of "Rules and Forms of Procedure." The latter begins with a brief statement regarding the church, and then proceeds to consider, in order, the powers of the local congregation with its various governing boards, the Presbytery, the Synod and finally the General Assembly. The former, on the other hand, begins with the General Conference, and then deals with the powers of the Annual Conference, the District Meeting, and finally the local church. This antithetical procedure is in itself significant. Presbyterianism was more particularistic than Methodism.

The Methodist Church, Canada, was incorporated by act of parliament, and while local property was held by local trustees, it was held definitively for the purposes of the congregation as a part of the Methodist Church. The various boards and departments, moreover, were appointed by the General Conference and directly responsible to it, subject, of course, to the restrictions inherent in the terms of the basis of Methodist union in 1884. The General Conference was supreme as a legislative body. It met, however, only every four years, and in the quadrennium a special committee of twelve ministers and twelve laymen was entrusted with large interim powers of an executive character.

In addition to this, although Canadian Methodism had abandoned the episcopacy in 1884, it did have a General Superintendent who presided over the meetings of the General Conference and of all its standing committees and who was thus the chief presiding executive officer of the church. He held office for eight years and was eligible for re-election. Indeed, in the period 1884-1925, there were but two general superintendents, the Rev. Albert Carman, D.D.,[10] formerly the bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, and the Rev. S. D. Chown, D.D. Their authority was strictly limited by constitutional provisions, and their decisions could be reversed by the Court of Appeal, but their office naturally carried with it great personal prestige and in consequence they were frequently referred to as the "popes of Methodism."[11] Strictly speaking, however, the term was not warranted. It was the duty of the General Superintendent to make sure that the legislation passed by the General Conference was observed by the boards of the church, the annual conferences, the district meetings, and the local churches, but if he overstepped the boundaries of his proper powers, there were many means of reminding him where the true sovereignty resided. What is more, the "means" were used. Nevertheless, the very fact that the General Conference met only once in four years necessarily left much power in the hands of the various executives, and to that extent, a criticism of the system as mildly bureaucratic was perhaps not without some justification. In Presbyterianism, the General Assembly met annually, and the Moderator, usually selected from among the men in the active pastorate, held office for but one term.

The Methodist annual conference was a much more significant body, politically speaking, than the Presbyterian synod, which was the corresponding territorial court. The synod was largely a "fellowship" assembly, with some power to transmit overtures to the General Assembly, and to hear appeals, but it never had the status of the annual conference which, through its stationing committee, had the power to say to one minister "go" and he went. The day before the annual conference met, the constituent ministers met by themselves in a "ministerial session" and not only passed on the qualifications of all candidates for the ministry, but also reviewed the work and character of those actively engaged in the ministry. The ministerial session had the power of requesting a minister who proved generally "unacceptable, inefficient or secular" to "ask a location" and, if he refused, to "locate" him the following year without more ado. To the Methodists, this yoke may have seemed easy, but to those trained in other systems of church government, the powers were suspected as "autocratic."

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[10] Two other men had served jointly with Dr. Carman as General Superintendents for short terms.

[11] Mr. Hector Charlesworth, in *More Candid Chronicles* (page 47), says that this phrase was originally attributed to the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, first editor of *The Christian Guardian* and founder of the public-school system of Ontario, by John Langton. Mr. Charlesworth continues: "In my younger days when the redoubtable controversialist, Rev. Dr. Carman, was alive, the title was frequently bestowed on him, and in 1925, when the proposals to create the United Church of Canada came to a head, it was the layman's habitual epithet for Rev. S. D. Chown."

If the annual conference was more significant than the synod, the district meeting—despite the fact that its chairman had a good deal of authority within the district—had far less real power than the presbytery, and the presbytery was the real centre of authority in Presbyterianism. The district meeting functioned largely as the agency of the church for gathering necessary statistics, and for the election of representatives to the annual conference. The presbytery, on the other hand, not only exercised direct oversight over the congregations within its bounds, but controlled in large measure the ordination and induction of ministers, sat as a court on the moral deficiencies of ministers, and above all voted directly as a presbytery on all proposed changes in the constitution of the church. In the Methodist Church, changes in the constitution which did not violate the parliamentary act of incorporation could be passed by the General Conference by a three-fourths majority; "or if required by either ministry or laity, a two-thirds majority of each order, voting separately." In the Presbyterian Church, the General Assembly might pass a declaratory act affirming what it understood to be the law of the church regarding any particular matter without referring it to presbyteries, but if it contemplated a change in the law of the church, then it was required under the Barrier Act (derived from the Church of Scotland) first to submit the same to all the presbyteries for their consideration. If the majority of the presbyteries expressed their approval of the proposed change, then the barrier was lifted, and the Assembly could, if it saw fit, make the necessary enactment; but if the majority of presbyteries expressed disapproval, the General Assembly could proceed no further in making the change without re-submitting the matter to them.

In the government of the local church, there were also marked differences between Presbyterianism and Methodism. The unit in Presbyterianism was the local church, and although several churches might combine and share the services of a single minister, each church retained its own inner organization and its own authority over its own affairs. The local property was held by a board of trustees who had to fulfil the requirement of the Model Trust-Deeds, but temporal matters were entrusted by the congregation to a deacon's court, or board of managers. Spiritual matters, including the use of the church edifice, "the service of praise," and the reception and demission of members, were under the direction of the session, which consisted of the minister (or ministers) and the elders of a congregation. The right of electing both managers and elders was vested in the congregation, and each congregation was required to hold at least an annual meeting at which reports were made and officers chosen. Elders were appointed for life, although they might be deposed or suspended under discipline, or voluntarily demit their office. The minister was the deliberate, often the *very* deliberate, choice of the congregation, formally called for an indeterminate term of office, although the approval and coöperation of the presbytery was required to induct the new man into the pastorate. Once installed, an authority far exceeding that stipulated in the Blue Book was frequently given to him—an authority which sprang from a reverence and respect for the minister inherited from Scotland and was accentuated by the obvious fact that the congregation felt him to be its own solemn choice.

Far different was it in Methodism. Here the unit was the circuit, which might consist of a single station, or a number of preaching points or congregations under one minister or, as he was technically called, the superintendent of circuit. Each of the congregations might worship in a church of its own, and each of these churches might be held by a local board of trustees, but the general oversight of the work in the whole circuit was entrusted to the quarterly official board which attended to both the spiritual and temporal interests of the various stations and decided practically everything. The members of the local congregation were seldom called together or consulted as a congregation. The minister or superintendent was sent to them by the stationing committee of the annual conference for a definite period, and theoretically during the term of office, he held the power. The quarterly official board, of course, was the executive body, but its membership consisted for the greater part of the minister's nominees, thus:

(Discipline, 1902, Section 192.)

(a) The ministers on the circuit, of whom he was chief.

(b) The probationers for the ministry on the circuit of which he was in charge.

(c) The local preachers and exhorters, elected by the official board on his nomination.

(d) The circuit stewards whom he nominated. (Discipline, 1902, #195, 4.)

(e) The class leaders and assistant class leaders whom he appointed. (Discipline 1902, #82, section 3.)

(f) Superintendents of the Sunday schools, selected from his nominees by the committee of management. (Discipline 1902, #302.)

(g) One representative from each board of trustees, who were selected by the quarterly official board on the nomination of the superintendent of circuit at the time that a vacancy occurred. (Discipline, 1902; #279, 282.)

(h) Additional representatives who may have been appointed by the societies of the circuit. ("Societies" is here used in the Wesleyan sense of local congregations.) These representatives should not, however, exceed the number of circuit stewards as given in (d).

(i) Ex-officio members such as presidents of Epworth Leagues, presidents of women's missionary auxiliaries; presidents of ladies' aid societies; and leaders of catechumen classes, subject to the approval of the quarterly official board.

Superficially, such a system suggests that under which local property is held in Roman Catholic circles in some places where the board of trustees consists of the bishop of the diocese, the parish priest who is appointed by the bishop, and one layman, recommended by the parish priest and approved by the bishop.

While, however, in theory the system might seem to be essentially hierarchical, the stationing committee sending the minister and the minister nominating the governing boards, safeguards against autocracy were inherent in the democratic tendencies of a new and pioneer country, where every form of overlordship was soon challenged, and to a large degree in the very nature of the itineracy itself. Where ministers moved about freely, they had to "consult" the members of the official board, which became a rather permanent body in its personnel, about all their appointments or nominations, and if they rubbed their parishioners the wrong way, the stationing committee would soon hear about it and the day of retribution would come when the next appointments were made. Again, while the forms of democracy may have seemed absent, the Methodist Church had the "spirit of democracy" which was finely exemplified in its class-meetings, its love-feasts, and other typical Methodist institutions. By these means it was able to develop lay leadership to an unusual degree. Further, although in Methodism the minister seemed in theory to hold all power, in practice he was not placed upon the pedestal to which many Presbyterian congregations exalted their ministers, for the congregation did not regard him as a permanent fixture, but as located only "for a sojourn among them." They bore troubles lightly when they saw the end of them in sight. Thus, in church polity as in other forms of government, things are not always what they seem.

In spite of these differences, however, there were similarities. Methodism had no board of managers, but its stewards performed much the same functions; it had no elders ordained for life who shared with the minister in the distribution of the elements at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but the class leaders held a meeting at least once a quarter to inquire:[12]

(1) Are there any sick?
(2) Are there any requiring temporal relief?
(3) Are there any walking disorderly and will not be reproved?

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[12] The quarterly meeting of the class leaders was falling into desuetude during the period of the negotiations.

(4) Are there any who wilfully neglect the means of grace?
(5) Are there any changes to be made in the classes?
(6) Are there any members on probation to be received into full membership?
(7) Is there any miscellaneous business?

Mutatis mutandis, we have here some embryonic elders. Strong laymen were developed under this system who took their places in the various church courts and shared equally with the ministers in the determination of the general policies of the church. Thus, as already pointed out in the analysis of the personnel of the committee which arranged the basis of union, Methodism was able to show a larger representation of laymen than either Presbyterianism or Congregationalism.

The similarities and differences in the government of the three negotiating churches were soon recognized by the sub-committee on Polity as it sought for a basis of union. The sub-committee came to some general conclusions regarding its task, in the light of which it made specific recommendations. These general conclusions were as follows:

"1. That while the officers and courts of the negotiating churches may bear different names, there is a substantial degree of similarity in the duties and functions of these officers and courts.

"2. That, engaged in the same work, with the same object in view, and earnestly endeavoring to meet the conditions confronting the churches in Canada, the negotiating churches have been steadily approximating more nearly to each other, both in forms of church government and methods of administration.

"3. That there are distinctive elements in each which would add to the efficiency of a united church, and which can be preserved with great advantage in the form of polity to be adopted for the United Church.

"4. That in this view, it is possible to provide for substantial local freedom, and at the same time secure the benefits of a strong connexional and coöperative efficiency."

These conclusions were incorporated into the final draft of the Basis of Union, together with provisions for the government of the United Church.

The sub-committee discovered that it would be impracticable to draw up fixed principles of government for the local church that would be generally acceptable. The autonomous Congregational churches were unwilling to give up their freedom of action, and the denominations were anxious to preserve for the local church the right to carry on under the system to which it had been long accustomed. Consequently, after affirming that the unit of organization for the United Church should be the pastoral charge, which might consist of more than one local church, the Basis affirmed the right of each church, charge, circuit or congregation that might enter the union, to continue the system of local government to which it had been accustomed, *"subject in general affairs to the legislation, principles and discipline of the United Church."*

Thus, Congregational churches would continue to be directed by a board of trustees, a board of deacons, a church committee, etc.; the Presbyterian Church would continue to be directed by a session of elders, a board of managers, and the congregation in annual or other meetings hearing reports, choosing its officials, sanctioning procedure; the Methodist circuit would continue to be governed by the quarterly official board constituted as already indicated. For those congregations that were formed subsequent to the union, however, a settled form of local government was prescribed. This, in general, followed Presbyterian lines, with a session of elders, primarily responsible for spiritual matters, but not necessarily chosen for life; a committee of stewards who were to secure contributions for local church purposes and to supervise the disbursements of such funds; and an official board, modelled somewhat on Methodist lines, consisting of all the elders and the stewards, together with representatives of various departments of church work, which had authority in all matters of joint interest and which represented, in a sense, the minister's cabinet and the working force of the church. The official board had particular responsibility for securing contributions for missionary and other general objects of the church.

Because the Basis of Union permitted thus a diversity of forms of local church government, we find today in The United Church of Canada churches that, in their handling of local affairs, continue to transact business exactly as they did when they were members of the Congregational Union; churches that are still simon-pure Presbyterian; churches that have not deviated one iota from previous Methodist procedures; and a fourth group of churches that have adopted the new basis. There are thus at least four distinct types of local church polity in operation within the present United Church. Whenever local amalgamations of churches have taken place, the general tendency has been for the new "amalgam" to adopt the method of local church government recommended for "all charges to be formed subsequent to the union."

The Congregationalists, however, safeguarded their local autonomy by a further demand which was granted, viz.,

> "Any property or funds owned by a church, charge, circuit or congregation at the time of the union solely for its own benefit, or vested in trustees for the sole benefit of such church, charge, circuit or congregation, and not for the denomination of which the said church, charge, circuit or congregation formed a part, shall not be affected by the legislation giving effect to the union or by

any legislation of the United Church without the consent of the church, charge, circuit or congregation for which such property is held in trust."

This provision was made especially for the Congregationalists as there was no Methodist and little Presbyterian property in which the denomination as a whole did not have, directly or indirectly, a definite interest; and only those Congregational churches profited by the indulgence in whose property the Congregational home missionary society had no reversionary rights.

Congregationalists, however, were also active in securing for charges to be received after the consummation of union similar privileges in local administration to those which they had achieved for themselves, thus:

> "Churches, charges, circuits or congregations, received subsequent to the union, into the United Church, with the approval of Presbyteries, shall be entitled, if they so desire, to the privileges of sections 4, 5 and 7."

Thus, other churches can join The United Church of Canada today without necessarily changing the form of local church government to which they have been accustomed.

The sub-committee on Polity next proceeded to lay down the powers of the "higher courts" of the church, which were to be called the Presbytery, the Conference and the General Council, respectively. The *Presbytery* was similar to the Presbytery in the Presbyterian Church, to the District Meeting in Methodism, and to the Association in Congregationalism. The *Conference* was similar to the Annual Conference in Methodism, or to the Synod in Presbyterianism. The *General Council* was similar to the Union in Congregationalism, to the General Conference in Methodism and to the General Assembly in Presbyterianism. The choice of the names for these respective courts was in itself significant, the Presbyterians contributing the name of the Presbytery; the Methodists that of the Conference, while the name of the General Council was contributed by the Congregationalists but reflected as well the experience of the Church Catholic.

None of these courts, moreover, in the readjustment lost any of the prestige which it had formerly held in the constituent denominations. The United Church Presbytery has perhaps essentially all the powers formerly resident in the Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, with the exception of the power to ordain, and much more power than that exercised by the Methodist District Meeting or the Congregational Association; the United Church Conference has similar power to that exercised by the Methodist Annual Conference and much more power than that formerly given to the Presbyterian Synod; the General Council of the United Church has much the same relationship to the church as a whole that either the quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Church, or the annual General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church had, although it meets only once in two years. The general effect of the readjustment thus was a more even distribution of authority between the three courts.

It must be remembered that the sub-committee on Polity did not attempt to draw up a complete system of discipline. By special resolution in the joint committee, questions of worship and discipline were left in abeyance until after the United Church had been formed. The joint committee only sought to lay down in the Basis the fundamental principles of the government, and the church, created or re-created by the Union, was to work out these principles in more minute detail. Because of this, the work of the first General Councils was of necessity largely taken up with the development of codes of procedure and the preparation of a manual, and this was no easy task nor could all the curious and knotty problems that arose be foreseen. Wisdom, however, would seem to have been justified of her children, who proposed to make the experiment and to learn by living, rather than to refuse to move until every possible development had been seen in advance and provided against.

The joint committee, however, made one curious but natural omission. It had specified how the local churches should elect their representatives to presbytery; how presbyteries should elect their representatives to conferences and how conferences should elect their representatives to the General Council. It also gave power to the General Council to establish the boundaries of conferences and to conferences the power to establish the boundaries of presbyteries, but it forgot to say how the first General Council was to be formed, since there could be no conferences to elect representatives to the General Council until the General Council had itself determined the boundaries of the conferences. This matter was, however, foreseen by the committee on Law, when it came to prepare the bill for submission to the Dominion Parliament, and a section was included covering this emergency and providing that the first General Council should consist of 350 members, 150 to be appointed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 150 to be appointed by the General Conference of the Methodist Church, 40 to be appointed by the Congregational Union and 10 to be appointed by the General Council of Local Union Churches. (United Church of Canada Act 14-15, George V, S. C. Chapter 100, section 21.)

The problems which arose in the actual working out of the terms of the Basis must be treated in Part III of this report, chapter xiii, dealing with "Administrative Developments in the United Church."

Problems in Administration

The sub-committee on Administration began its work by taking an inventory of the various boards, agencies, institutions and organizations through which the work of the three negotiating churches was carried on.

It included in this analysis a statistical statement of the total number of ministers, active and inactive, together with the average salaries obtained. The total number of ministers in the three churches in 1906 was as follows:

	Active Pastorate	Professors and Boards of Church	Inactive or Retired	Total
Congregational	84	4	17	105
Methodist	1,400	52	349	1,801
Presbyterian	1,231	41	234	1,506

The sub-committee also sought information regarding the salaries paid ministers in 1906. It was not possible to secure full and accurate statements in this regard, although fairly complete statistics were available for Presbyterians and Methodists. The Methodists had a sustentation fund, the object of which was "to secure salaries of not less than $750 for ordained married ministers; $400 for ordained unmarried ministers and $350 for probationers." Of course, the Methodist Church almost invariably provided horse-keep, where this was necessary, taxes and a furnished parsonage. Nevertheless, of the 1,400 men in the active pastorate, 778 were at this time receiving less than $750 from their congregations. Of the rest, the salaries were reported to the third conference of the Joint Committee as follows:

Salary			Number
$750	to	$800	271
850		990	81
1,000		1,490	203
1,500		1,990	32
2,000		2,990	24
3,000		4,000	2
Total			613

Of course, these salaries seem exceedingly low at the present time, and it must be remembered that they were in force eight years before the Great War broke out, when all prices soared.

The Presbyterian Church recognized three distinct kinds of local fields: the self-sustaining charge, the augmented charge and the mission field. To be a self-sustaining charge, a church had not only to pay the total salary of the minister, but also to pay him at least a certain minimum, which had, at the time the figures were gathered, just been increased from $750 and manse to $800 and manse. An augmented charge was for the most part self-sustaining, but if it was unable of itself to raise the full amount of minimum salary as set by the church, it received the necessary supplement from the home-mission funds. The salary of the home missionary was paid almost entirely by the church at large. A home missionary received from $650 to $925 according to his "domestic circumstances and the cost of living in the locality in which he is laboring." Augmented salaries ranged from a minimum of $800 and manse to $850 and manse. For the 515 self-sustaining congregations salaries were reported as follows:

Salary		Number
$750 to	$800	62*
850	990	156
1,000	1,490	185
1,500	1,990	58
2,000	2,990	37
3,000	4,000	13
Above 4,000		4
Total		515

* These statistics were for the year immediately prior to the increase in the minimum from $750 to $800.

The Congregational churches reported total expenses for local purposes, and did not segregate the ministers' salaries; but there was reason to believe that these varied from $500 to $3,000.

The sub-committee on Administration at first included a section on ministerial support in its contribution to the "Basis," in which it was stated that since "the result should be the amalgamation of many congregations . . . the aim of the United Church should be to make the minimum salary at least $1,000 per annum, with manse or parsonage"; but at the meeting of September, 1907, this section was deleted entirely. It may have been felt that to include a minimum in the "Basis of Union" might lay too great a burden on some of the smaller churches which still boasted of their autonomy; it may have been feared that such a stipulation might seem to the laymen too indicative of an excessive ministerial interest in the proposed union primarily as a means of raising salaries; or it may have been considered that this was a matter to be dealt with after, instead of before, union. At all events, it was just as well that the aspiration was not expressed, for while $1,000 and manse might have seemed a fair minimum in 1908, such a salary would have appeared ridiculous in the year of the consummation of union, 1925, when inflation was at its height.[13]

Mission Boards: So far as foreign work was concerned, the sub-committee on Administration foresaw no difficulty in making the adjustments connected with union, "the three churches being engaged in foreign work in different countries, or at least in different districts of a country, and their administration in their foreign work being practically identical."

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[13] The minimum in the United Church for married men is $1,800 and house; during the depression, however, the Board of Home Missions has not been able to make up deficiencies in this matter beyond a total salary of $1,725 and house.

Nor was any particular difficulty envisaged in the merging of home-mission work, and it was recommended that all the various funds connected with home or foreign work be merged under the control of two distinct boards, one to control home missions and the other to control foreign missions.

Publications: While each of the denominations issued a number of publications, only one of them owned a large publishing business, the Methodist Bookroom being one of the largest and best equipped printing plants in the Dominion. So far as the publications were concerned, it was decided to leave the question of possible amalgamations to be determined by the Supreme Court of the church. A certain allocation of profits from the Methodist Book Concern was made annually to the superannuation fund and this created some little difficulty, since if the Methodist Bookroom were to print all the material used by the United Church, a general increase of profits might be anticipated, but should this increase go to the superannuation fund, which operated on a different basis from those of the other annuity funds? Any decision on this point was, however, left in abeyance.

Colleges: The relations of the colleges to the respective churches varied, and were stipulated in the charters from the governments (Dominion or Provincial) under which they operated. In general, these relations were not to be disturbed until the Supreme Court of the United Church should determine otherwise, but a General Board of Education was approved, to which a general oversight of the educational interests of the church should be assigned by the General Council. Some amalgamation of colleges was, however, anticipated if not definitely planned, thus:

> "The policy of the United Church shall be the maintenance of a limited number of thoroughly equipped colleges, having due regard to the needs of the different parts of the country, and that in furtherance of this policy, amalgamation shall be effected as soon as possible in localities where two or more Colleges are doing the same class of work."

Women's Organizations: As there were no women members of the Joint Committee—the work of the committee was completed before the "dark ages" came to an end—no reference was made to the women's societies until the fourth meeting, when the following clause was inserted in the general section dealing with missions:

> "That, recognizing the very valuable services rendered by the women's missionary societies, the union, constitution and lines of work of these societies be determined by the joint action of their boards, subject to the approval of the Supreme Court of the United Church, and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the several women's societies."

As has already been indicated, the members of the committee had assuredly reached the age of discretion, and probably were well aware of the maxim of Dr. Lloyd C. Douglas, lately minister of St. James' United Church, Montreal, who included in his book on *The Minister's Everyday Life* this advice to ministers: "If you find yourself longing for some kind of excitement, get a long pole and poke a dent in the side of a yellow-jacket's nest: but let the women run their organization to suit themselves."

ANNUITY AND BENEVOLENT FUNDS: In previous unions within the same denominational family in Canada, one of the problems most difficult to solve involved the administrative adjustments required by the various annuity funds. After the Presbyterian Union of 1875, the annuity funds of the Presbyterian synod in the Maritime provinces and the Presbyterian synod in the Maritime provinces connected with the Church of Scotland were amalgamated, but the similar funds connected with the synod of the Presbyterian Church in the Canadas in connection with the Church of Scotland were kept separate and administered by the original board which had the power to co-opt members to fill vacancies. While this board retained complete management of the funds, it always reported to the General Assembly until 1925, and since then to The United Church of Canada. As its annuitants diminished, it increased its grant in such a way that it is expected that when the last annuitant dies, the fund will be practically exhausted. In the Methodist Union of 1884, a new complication arose out of the fact that while membership in the superannuation funds was obligatory, yet in the case of some of the uniting bodies, notably the Primitive Methodists, the scale of annual assessments and the promised annuities did not equal those required in the other funds. Hence, before the union was consummated, it was stipulated that the Primitive Methodists should raise a fund sufficient to equalize the position of their ministers with those of the other churches.

In the case of the negotiating bodies looking to the union of 1925, the differences between the funds were still more marked. Some of the differences may be stated briefly thus:

(a) *Membership* in the Methodist superannuation funds was obligatory on all Methodist ministers. While the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church had passed legislation in 1910 making membership in its aged and infirm ministers' fund compulsory for all ministers received into the church after that date, the indifferent attitude of the presbyteries towards enforcing this rule had made it practically inoperative, and fewer than one-half of all the ministers were contributing members. In the Congregational Church, membership in the benevolent funds was entirely optional, and only about one-third of the ministers were members.

(b) *Rates and Assessments:* In the Methodist Church each minister was required to pay to the superannuation funds a certain definite percentage of his salary, with a minimum annual payment of $25, beginning with 3.3 per cent. and increasing by one-tenth of one per cent. for every additional $100 over $800.

In the Presbyterian Church, however, the payments were fixed annual amounts, unrelated in any way to the salary received, and ranging from $5.85 for those joining at the age of 25, to $50.90 for those joining at 55. Additional protection in a widow's and orphans' fund had to be sought for those wishing to protect their wives and children. Annual assessments did not cease until a minister had both reached the age of 70 and given forty years of service to the church. In the Congregational fund the rates were fixed amounts ranging from $4 per annum for those under 30, to $8 per annum for those between 45 and 50. Here again, protection for widows and orphans had to be secured by joining a second fund which had another scale of annual payments.

(c) *Nature of Protection:* The superannuation fund of the Methodist Church was thoroughly consolidated, and the one payment covered all benefits. Old age was provided against, widows and orphans were protected in case of the early death of the minister, and permanent disability was safeguarded. The minister's rights were also protected in case he left the ministry for secular work, either voluntarily or by being given a "location," or if he entered another church. In the Presbyterian Church, old-age pensions were assured to all ministers of the church, but non-contributing members received only 40 per cent. of the benefits offered contributing members. Those who wished to protect wives and children were required to join the widows' and orphans' fund, as well as the aged and infirm ministers' fund. Provision was also offered against temporary or permanent disability. In the Congregational Church, a minister would have to join two funds to secure protection both against his old age, and for his wife and minor children in case of his death before retirement; but there seemed to be no definite promises made in case of permanent disability.

(d) *Amount of Protection:* Once again, the amounts of protection varied. In the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, the protection offered was in a given ratio to the number of years of service in the church. In the Congregational Church, a minister was allowed to retire at age 65 with a stated annuity irrespective of the number of years of service. Even so, the amounts for a man with much the same status of service in the different churches would vary: if a man were 70 years of age and had served the church 40 years, he would receive in the Methodist Church $800 per annum; in the Presbyterian Church $625 per annum, or in the case of non-contributing members $250 per annum; and in the Congregational Church $250 per annum. In the case of his death before superannuation, however, the benefits to widow and orphans in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches were less than the sums indicated above, while in the Congregational Church they were more.

(e) *Solvency of the Funds:* An analysis of the funds made just prior to union indicated that the Presbyterian and Congregational funds were more solvent, actuarially speaking, than the Methodist fund.[14] Hence, on a basis of estimated receipts, the Methodist Church was not justified in offering as many benefits as it did, while the other two churches were probably justified in offering more. In the years immediately preceding union, the total expenditures in the superannuation fund of the Methodist Church exceeded the receipts by more than $20,000. In 1927 the total cash capital of the unconsolidated funds of the three denominations was $4,562,812.52. Of this sum 3.6 per cent. was Congregational money, 44 per cent. was Presbyterian and 52.4 per cent. was Methodist. For comparative purposes, the percentages of total estimated liabilities of the three denominations are shown in the following list:

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[14] By actuarial solvency is meant that the total estimated assets are in excess of the total estimated liabilities.

	Percentage of	
	Cash Assets	Total Liabilities
Congregational	3.6	.67
Presbyterian	44.0	19.33
Methodist	52.4	80.00
	100.0	100.00

(f) *Underlying Philosophy of the Funds:* There would also seem to be some fundamental differences in the underlying philosophies of the various funds. The Methodist attitude towards the superannuation fund was the direct result of the denominational system, according to which "every effective minister must have a church, and every church a pastor." On this assumption, the minister went where he was sent; received the salary he was given; moved when he was told to move; devoted all his time to the church; retired when he was told to retire.

This was not the case in either the Presbyterian or the Congregational churches, where the minister went where he was called, and if he resigned, voluntarily or involuntarily, might have to wait until "God called him" to another field of labor. Neither of these churches accepted any definite responsibility for placing its ministers. Further, it was not imperative for them to retire if there was a church still ready to engage them, and in the Presbyterian Church it was a definite rule that if a minister should, by reason of age or infirmity, retire, the presbytery was obligated to visit the congregation and "confer with them anent a retiring allowance to the minister, to take effect on the acceptance of his resignation." The payment of such an allowance was, however, in the hands of the local congregation.

True authority always implies the acceptance of responsibility, and if a church has the right to move a minister around at its pleasure, it is also obliged to look after him in his old age or in case of disability; and if it is willing to accept this obligation, the minister should also be obliged to fulfil its requirements in respect of assessments, etc. If, on the other hand, a minister is free to serve a church or not, as he sees fit, to preserve his ministerial standing even when not actively engaged in the pastorate, to pick and choose, the sense of responsibility on the part of the church is to that degree weakened.

Fundamentally, therefore, the problem before those negotiating the terms of a United Church was twofold:

1. What shall be done with the various funds which the United Church shall inherit? Shall they be kept separate or consolidated, and how?
2. What is to be the conception of the ministry in the United Church? Are the ministers to be a mobile army under the direction of the "higher courts" of the church, or are they to be the free servants of the congregations which they serve?

The members of the Joint Committee may not have been conscious that the second of these points was implicit in all their decisions, but they do not seem to have faced up to the fundamental problem. They confined themselves rather to the more technical problem of adjustment in the first question. Their decisions, as incorporated in the Basis of Union, provided that the rights of all present claimants on the respective funds should be safeguarded, and if this could be done by a consolidation of the funds, that such a consolidation should be effected, but

> "if it be found that differences in the constitution and administration of the several funds are such as to necessitate separate trusts, instead of a common trust, this shall not be a bar to the carrying out of the general plan, because in that case their revenues shall be combined."

The committee then recommended that while the status of any minister duly connected with any of the three negotiating churches in respect to the pension funds of the church should not be affected by the union, and his assessments should be determined in the same manner as if the union had not taken place,

> "all ministers received into or ordained in the United Church after union, shall be required at the time of their reception or ordination to become members of and contributors to the proposed fund."

In respect, therefore, to all new ministers, the philosophy and practice of the Methodist Church in regard to superannuation was accepted by the prospective United Church.

Numerous questions were bound to arise, however, when the scheme was actually put into operation, some of them psychological and some of them actuarial, which it has taken the United Church seven years to work out in detail. These must be described more fully in the third part of this report. Perhaps the major question thus left in abeyance was this: What, if anything, can be done towards an equalization of both assessments and benefits, in case members of certain funds offering smaller benefits should feel themselves at a disadvantage? It is quite obvious that in such cases all levelling means a levelling up, not a levelling down, and yet the superannuation fund of the Methodist Church, which offered the largest benefits, demanded also the largest assessments and at the same time was probably the least solvent. This, in a nutshell, was the problem which the negotiators passed on to the United Church with their blessing. Sufficient unto the day was the evil thereof.

Problems in Law

The problems in law were so complicated that, to avoid unnecessary repetition in this report, they have been treated separately and hence more exhaustively in chapter ix, "The Struggle to Secure Enabling Legislation."

Problem of the Name of the Church

The question of the name was not seriously raised in the Joint Committee until the fifth conference. It was then moved that the name of the proposed new church should be "The United Church of Canada." An amendment was proposed that it should be called the "United Evangelical Church in Canada." An amendment to the amendment was carried, however, which called for general suggestions, all of which should later be embodied in the documents sent out to the congregations for their consideration. A list of some of the suggestions follows:

"The United Church of Canada."
"The United Evangelical Church in Canada."
"The United Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Church in Canada."
"The Canadian United Church."
"The United Church, Canada (Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist)."
"The United Church of Christ in Canada."

As the matter was discussed in the various courts of the churches, the general feeling inclined in favor of the first of these names, although some feared that a seemingly monopolistic title might be resented by denominations other than those immediately concerned. The Joint Union Committee, in their final revision of the "Basis" at a special meeting held at Bond Street Congregational Church, December 16-18, 1914, decided that the name of the church should be "The United Church of Canada," and possibly in explanation of their choice, added the following significant sentence:

> "It shall be the policy of The United Church to foster the spirit of unity in the hope that this sentiment of unity may, in due time, so far as Canada is concerned, take shape in a Church which may fittingly be described as national."

CHAPTER VII

The Reaction of the Denominations

When the Joint Committee had completed its work in 1908, the proposed Basis of Union was printed for general information and even published in full in certain newspapers as news; and it was on this "Basis" that the three churches actually united in 1925, although a few minor changes had been made in 1914 in the hope of appeasing criticism in Presbyterian circles. The printed report was then submitted by the various denominational committees on church union to the next meetings of the higher courts of their respective churches. Since, however, the Congregational Union and the Presbyterian General Assembly held their meetings in June, 1909, while the Quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Church would not meet before September, 1910, the Joint Committee recommended that no official action be taken in the matter until all three bodies could act more or less simultaneously in 1910.

When the several courts convened and formally received the "Basis," each of them disposed of the issue in accordance with its own polity and genius. Consequently it is desirable to describe the procedure by denominations, although a preliminary statement of a chronological character, and dealing with the general course of the movement, must first be presented. Against this the reaction of the several denominations will be more clearly understood. Only in the case of the Presbyterians was the procedure itself seriously challenged, and hence it is particularly necessary to describe Presbyterian action in greater detail.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY BY YEARS

1909

The Congregational Union and the Presbyterian General Assembly formally received the "Basis" at their annual meetings in 1909. The General Assembly expressed its satisfaction that the negotiators had been able to reach such an agreement and ordered that the "Basis" be widely distributed throughout the church and be freely discussed at meetings of presbyteries. However, it neither formally approved the "Basis" nor remitted it to the presbyteries for action under the Barrier Act. The Congregationalists, on the other hand, confronted an entirely different situation. The Union was no supreme court of the church but simply a body for fellowship and coöperation. No action that the Union could take could bind in the least any of the autonomous churches. Consequently, any pronouncement that the Union might make in 1910, of approval or disapproval of the "Basis," would require first a plebiscite of the members of various congregations. The Union, therefore, ordered that a straw vote, which was in no sense to be considered final, should be taken in the churches and the results reported to the Union at its 1910 meetings. The Union further expressed its general gratification with the course and temper of the negotiations.

1910

The straw vote ordered by the Congregationalists was taken in the churches in the early part of 1910, and reported to the Union that year. Two questions were asked:

1. Are you in favor of the Canadian Congregational churches entering into the proposed Union on the Basis of Union drafted by the Joint Committee?
2. If the proposed "Basis" is not satisfactory, what changes do you suggest?

Of 115 churches, with approximately 11,000 members, only 77, or 67 per cent. voted, although this number represented 73 per cent. of the total membership of the churches. The total votes cast were 3,746, or approximately only 50 per cent. of the membership of the churches actually voting. Of the votes cast, approximately 80 per cent. were in favor of Union and only 20 per cent. opposed. Of the 77 churches voting, 62, or 80 per cent., favored Union, 15 were opposed to it and 38 took no action.[1]

While the total vote cast was small, it was accepted by the Union as a sufficient index of the attitude of the Congregationalists. In this connection it must be remembered, first, that the vote itself was only a straw vote, and secondly, that in most Congregational churches the rolls contained a large number of absent members. Indeed, there is good reason for believing that *in the churches which actually took a vote,* the really active members recorded their judgment.

When this vote was reported in the Union it voted:

"1. That this Union considers the action it has already taken as sufficient for the present and will now wait until the other negotiating bodies have had an opportunity of testing to a corresponding degree the feeling of their constituencies.

"2. That the Committee on Church Union be continued.

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[1] These percentages are based on the formal returns to the Congregational Union, although in the records of the Union it is stated that belated reports slightly increased these percentages in favor of Union.

"3. That this Committee appoint a special Sub-Committee to investigate all the legal and administrative interests involved in the proposed Union both as to individual churches and societies."

At the same time the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church met at Halifax, declared its approval of the proposed Basis of Union, and directed that

"this resolution, along with the above-mentioned documents, be transmitted to Presbyteries for their judgment under the Barrier Act, instructing Presbytery Clerks to report the decisions arrived at to the Clerks of the General Assembly not later than the first day of May 1911."

The General Assembly also formally intimated that

"in the event of the returns from the Presbyteries warranting further steps being taken in the direction of Union, the Assembly of 1911 will proceed to consult Sessions and Congregations regarding the whole matter."

The General Conference of the Methodist Church met in September and took action that paralleled that of the General Assembly. An effort was made by the Methodist members of Conference opposed to Union to eliminate any approval of the "Basis" and to substitute the words in the original motion "cordially receives" for "declares its approval of." This amendment was lost and the motion to approve was carried, 220 to 35. The General Conference directed its Special Committee to send the documents comprising the proposed "Basis" "to the District Meetings for consideration and to the Annual Conference for consideration and adoption or rejection"; and "if the reports from the Annual Conference warrant such action, to send the documents of the Basis of Union to the Official Boards and the membership of the Church for consideration and adoption or rejection." It also gave the authority to the General Conference Special Committee (which was in reality the executive committee with large powers to act between conferences), if the result of the vote was sufficiently favorable to Union, to "call a special meeting of the General Conference further to consider the matter of consummating the proposed Union."

1911

In this year the General Assembly received the results of its remit to the presbyteries under the Barrier Act, while the special committee of the General Conference was notified of the action of the various annual confrences. In the first instance, 67 of the 70 presbyteries of the church reported; of these 50 presbyteries voted to approve and 20 disapproved.[2] The total votes cast in the presbyteries were 793 approval and 476 non-approval. On hearing this report the General Assembly resolved to send

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[2] Four ties were considered, in terms of the Barrier Act, as non-approval.

"the whole matter down to Sessions and Congregations" in the form of the three following questions:

"1. Are you in favor of organic union with the Methodist and Congregational Churches?
"2. Do you approve the proposed Basis of Union?
"3. Have you any suggestions or alternatives to offer?"

The vote on the first two questions was to be taken by ballot, members of sessions, members of congregations and adherents who were over eighteen years of age voting separately.

The special committee of the General Conference of the Methodist Church learned that the annual conferences had expressed an opinion overwhelmingly favorable to the "Basis." Only one conference out of eleven, that of Newfoundland, voted against the Union, and interestingly enough, this conference had, for reasons more or less obvious, been *economically* a perpetual liability rather than an asset to the church at large. There were special reasons, however, why the Newfoundland Methodists could not be expected to enthuse over Union: (1) In Newfoundland the Protestant population is almost exclusively Anglican or Methodist. The number of Presbyterians and Congregationalists is negligible. (In more recent years the Salvation Army has grown strong in Newfoundland.) (2) Newfoundland Methodism, while attached to the Methodist Church, Canada, was largely under the influence of English Wesleyanism and secured nearly all of its ministers in the Old Country. (3) Newfoundland was not an integral part of Canada, but an independent colony, and could not be carried away with a vision of a united Canadian church such as captivated the unionists in all three churches in the Dominion. Their loyalty was essentially to Methodism rather than to a prospective United Church of Canada.

The total vote in the eleven conferences was 1,579 for approval to 270 against. The special committee therefore decided, under the authority given by the General Conference in 1910, to send the whole matter down to the official boards of the various circuits and to the membership of the church.

1912

In the early part of 1912 both Methodist and Presbyterian churches prepared to take the plebiscites of the people which had been authorized in the preceding year. A survey of the denominational papers of the time enables the student of the situation to appraise the various arguments used by both those who favored and those who opposed Union. Much of the material in the latter part of this chapter is based on a study of these documents. About this time, the men opposed to Union in the Presbyterian

Church organized a society called the Presbyterian Association for the Federation of the Churches, which was essentially an effort to defeat the purposes of those who sought organic union by urging federation after the British and American models. It is clear, however, that the unionists interpreted this move as one directed against union, rather than for federation. (This organization later yielded to the Presbyterian Church Association, the object of which was more exactly stated, i.e., to preserve the Presbyterian Church in Canada whatever the unionists did.)

The Presbyterians completed their vote somewhat before the Methodists. Indeed the Presbyterian Committee on Church Union, meeting in April, announced the result of their vote while the voting in the Methodist churches was still going on, and an editorial in *The Christian Guardian* questioned the wisdom of this procedure.[3]

Attention should also be directed to the fact that while the individual presbyteries voted on three questions, the Methodists voted only on one, namely: "Are you in favor of the union of the three Churches on the Basis prepared by the Joint Committee?"

The Methodists had, therefore, no opportunity of distinguishing between the approval of Union in general and the approval of the Basis in particular and, as Chancellor Burwash points out in one of his articles in *The Christian Guardian* in 1912, a good many who favored Union but found serious objections in the proposed "Basis," nevertheless felt that they could not conscientiously vote "No" on the question, since such a vote might contribute to thwarting a movement in which they generally believed. The Methodist leaders, however, feeling that Union was possible only on the "Basis" which had been prepared over a long period, decided that it was better to put the single question before the people.

The result of both the Presbyterian and the Methodist votes may be found in greater detail in the Appendix. Among the Presbyterians a much larger number of elders, communicants and adherents cast their ballots on the first general question of organic union than on the second question involving approval or non-approval of the proposed "Basis." The combined total vote on Question 1 was 150,175 (69.75 per cent.) for Union to 69,925 (30.25 per cent.) against. On Question 2, dealing with the "Basis," the total vote was 100,853 (67 per cent.) for, 49,605 (32 per cent.) against. Numerous suggestions were made in the matter of possible changes or modifications in the "Basis."

When the General Assembly at Edmonton, received the results of this vote, while it conceded that the large majority in favor of organic union was a strong indication of the ultimate success of the movement and warranted it in pledging itself "to maintain and deepen the unity of spirit which has marked the source of the negotiations," nevertheless, it stated:

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[3] See *The Christian Guardian,* April 16, 1912.

> "In view, however, of the extent of the minority which is not yet convinced that organic union is the best method of expressing the unity, sincerely desired by all, the Assembly deems it unwise immediately to proceed to consummate the Union but believes that by further conference and discussion practically unanimous action can be secured within a reasonable time."

In the meantime the General Assembly decided in a series of additional resolutions to invite the largest possible coöperation in specified projects between the negotiating bodies, such as in the avoidance of overlapping, the maintenance of theological colleges, the oversight of union congregations and the various publications of the three churches. (See chapter viii: "Transitional Steps in Coöperation.")

Only in a few of the presbyteries, e.g., Toronto and Maitland, was the aggregate vote against the Basis of Union larger than that in favor. Even in Toronto a majority favored organic union, although not the proposed "Basis." The fact that practically every presbytery in the Dominion voted by a substantial majority in favor of both Union and the proposed "Basis" should be remembered in the light of later objections to the effect that efforts were made on the part of presbyteries, in appointing their representatives to General Assembly, to exclude all who were opposed to Union, with the result that the vote in successive General Assemblies, while overwhelmingly in favor of Union, did not represent the real judgment of the church.

In the Methodist Church the result of the vote was an overwhelming victory for the "Basis." Here a larger percentage of those qualified to vote, voted.[4]

This was the only vote taken throughout the Methodist Church in the course of the negotiations.

1913–1914

In 1913 the General Assembly received a report from the Union committee which recommended, obviously in the hope of eliminating the opposition as much as possible, that

> "further amendments to the present Basis of Union and alternative proposals be invited from the Presbyteries and Sessions, Congregations and individuals through Presbyteries, and referred to this Committee, in order that after considering them it may again enter into conference with the Committees of the other negotiating churches with the view of setting before our people a final presentation of the question for their judgment."

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[4] See analysis of vote by conferences in Appendix F, Table 3.

It must be noted that a phrase in the body of this report from the Committee on Church Union, urging the other churches to continue the negotiations "because it feels the desirability of the practically unanimous action of all its own members in order that the result of any Union entered into may be most happy and far-reaching" was deleted by vote of the Assembly and the following words were substituted: "In the hope that Union may be consummated with no unnecessary delay."

A minority report from the Presbyterian Committee on Church Union, which would, had it carried, have shelved the matter of organic union "without prejudice to either side of the question" and would have continued the committee only to explore the possibility of some method of coöperation for Canada on a basis similar to that of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, was rejected, 251 to 75.

When the Union committee of the Presbyterian Church had received a large number of suggestions for modifying the "Basis," they considered these at a special meeting and later requested the Committees on Church Union of the other two churches to meet with them to consider possible amendments of the "Basis." This meeting was held on December 16-17, 1914, in the Bond Street Congregational Church, Toronto, specifically to consider:

1. The proposed changes in the Basis of Union suggested by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.
2. Any changes to be suggested by the denominational committees on Church Union.
3. The name to be given the United Church; and the names to be given the courts and officials of the United Church.
4. The legal aspects of the whole question of Church Union.
5. Any other matter preparatory to the final recommendation regarding Church Union which is to be presented to the proper courts of the negotiating churches.

The amendments proposed by the Presbyterians seem inconsequential and these modifications were approved. One of them called for the insertion of a paragraph on prayer in the doctrinal basis, while Section I, 7 (c) in the proposed Basis of Union, dealing with the ministry, was inserted to strengthen the case of those who needed further assurance that in the new church the local congregations would always be free to call whomsoever they chose to be their minister.

It was at this meeting, too, that, after some discussion and without a dissenting voice, it was determined that the name of the United Church should be The United Church of Canada.

In respect to legislation, the Presbyterian committee presented a communication to the effect "that in the proposed legislation, proper provision be made to guard any rights or privileges of any minority that may be opposed to Union." This matter was referred to the committee on law and legislation for their consideration.

The meeting, in conclusion, considered a further resolution commending this "Basis" "so harmoniously amended" to the judgment of the negotiating churches. An amendment proposed by those Presbyterians on the committee opposed to organic union and advocating that negotiations should for the present be discontinued, was rejected, 56 to 7. The main motion was then put and carried, 57 to 7, three members not voting.

The Joint Committee did not meet again for nearly seven years, during which time the great World War was shaking civilization to its centre, while within the Presbyterian Church in Canada another conflict ensued regarding the right of the church to enter Union, which kept that church in a state of almost continuous controversy.

1915

The amended "Basis" was presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at its annual meeting in June, 1915. The Assembly declared its approval of the "Basis" as then submitted, and once again directed that "the said Basis be transmitted to Presbyteries for their judgment under the Barrier Act, and that the Appendix on Law be also transmitted to Presbyteries for their judgment." The General Assembly also ordered that the question of union be once again submitted to sessions, communicants and adherents of the church in the following form:

> "Are you in favor of union with the Methodist and Congregational Churches of Canada on the Basis of Union approved by the General Assembly of 1915? Yes? No?"

to which the following significant note was added:

> "N. B. The people are reminded that the decision on this question must be reached on the basis of the votes cast."

1916

The returns to the remit to the presbyteries and the results of the voting by sessions, congregations and adherents were reported to the next General Assembly at Winnipeg, in 1916. There were now seventy-six presbyteries. Five made no returns to the General Assembly, viz., Lunenburg and Yarmouth, Kootenay, Winnipeg, Trinidad and Honan. The last two were essentially under the foreign-mission board.

Winnipeg later made a return signifying its approval of the "Basis." The vote on the remit by presbyteries in both 1911 and 1916 is appended for purposes of comparison:

	1911	*1916*
Approving remit	50	53
Disapproving remit	12	13
Ties	2	3
Qualified approval	4	..
Irrelevant returns	..	2
Rejected	..	1
No returns	2	4
Total number of presbyteries	70	76

Ties were considered, in terms of the Barrier Act, as non-approval.

In spite of the fact that this vote was taken during the War, which, one might have supposed, would have minimized the significance of all other struggles, the popular vote showed a growth of sentiment against the union, although still a large majority voted in its favor. The total vote is difficult to compare with the former vote in 1912, since an opinion was expressed on two questions in 1912 and only on one in 1915.

TABLE IX—PRESBYTERIAN VOTES ON CHURCH UNION, 1912 AND 1915

Vote of 1912

Question I: Are you in favor of organic union with the Methodist and Congregational Churches?

	Total	Number Voting			Per Cent.
Voters	on Roll	Yes	No	Total	Voting
Members	297,619	113,000	50,753	163,753	55
Elders	*9,675*	*6,245*	*2,475*	*8,720*	*90*
Communicants	*287,944*	*106,755*	*48,278*	*155,033*	*54*
Adherents	Unknown	37,175	14,174	51,349	..
Total		150,175	64,927	215,102	..
Question II: Are you in favor of the proposed Basis of Union?					
Members	297,619	83,097	29,389	112,486	37.8
Elders	*9,675*	*5,104*	*2,192*	*7,296*	*75.4*
Communicants	*287,944*	*77,993*	*27,197*	*105,190*	*36.5*
Adherents	Unknown	27,756	10,316	38,072	..
Total		110,853	39,705	150,558	..
Churches		1,391	339	1,730	..
Vote of 1915					
Question I: Are you in favor of the proposed Basis of Union?					
Members	344,740	113,600	73,635	187,235	54.3
Elders		*7,066*	*3,822*	*10,888*	..
Communicants		*106,534*	*69,813*	*176,447*	..
Adherents		36,942	20,004	56,946	..
Total		150,542	93,639	244,181	..
Churches		1,331	494	1,825	..

In connection with the voting the Unionists claim that the essential factor in Presbyterian polity, apart from the action of the General Assembly, is the decision of the presbyteries under the Barrier Act; that there is no provision in the polity for a plebiscite of the people, and that while this was deemed advisable under the circumstances, it was from the point of view of canon law a work of supererogation. Such a sounding of opinion, however, seems to have been justified. With the Congregationalists it was quite different; with them the decision was always recognized as being in the hands of the people themselves.

The results of these successive votes, when carefully analyzed, are of great interest, especially as a study in the representative character of representative assemblies:

(1) While the number of presbyteries approving the remit increased from 50, in 1911, to 53, in 1915, the minority against the Basis of Union in the rank and file of the membership increased from 25.8 per cent., in 1912, to 39.6 per cent., in 1915.

(2) Thirteen presbyteries, or if we give the "nays" half the benefit of the three ties, fourteen and one-half presbyteries, voted disapproval of the Basis of Union in their returns to the remit in 1915, but in the popular vote, a majority of churches favored the basis in all except six presbyteries, and a majority of the individual voters favored the basis in all except nine presbyteries.[5]

(3) The criticism that the extent of the vote was inadequate since only 54.3 per cent. of the total membership registered their votes, may be dismissed as inconsequential in the light of the fact that ten years later, when the final vote took place and was most bitterly contested, 30 per cent. of the membership of the churches which actually took a vote failed to materialize. The rolls were obviously loaded with "dead wood."

(4) This vote was taken in the early years of the War, and at this time Canada had approximately 250,000 men under arms, most of them Protestant and English-speaking. This fact may have somewhat influenced the total vote cast, since a considerable number of the younger men would not be able to cast their ballots, especially if we assume the Unionist contention that the bulk of the opposition to Union in Presbyterian circles came from the older group.

(5) It is clear that the most vigorous opposition was confined to a few presbyteries in the conservative East, and in the larger cities of the East, where the congregations were quite able to carry on and did not feel the pinch of frontier conditions, except as they were called upon to contribute more money for home missions. In the West, on the other hand, the presbyteries were solidly behind the union movement except in one or two centres where those opposed to union were led by outstanding men. Even so, the available wealth of the church was largely in the hands of these

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[5] These were: Pictou and St. John in the Maritime provinces; Toronto, Maitland, Brockville, Saugeen, Peterborough, Guelph and Sarnia in Ontario.

eastern churches, and one of the motives in effecting union was the saving of men and money; hence, when money was so important a consideration, it was hardly wise to alienate those who had it.

(6) The presbyteries that registered a popular majority vote against union were those in which Presbyterians were recognized, at least by themselves, and often by others, as the social leaders, or in which the early settlements had been made by Scottish or Irish Presbyterians, e.g., Pictou, N. S., and Maitland (Bruce County, Ont.), and where the older families were, for the most part, connected with the kirk.

(7) The plebiscite clearly revealed that opposition to the Union had grown not only among communicants and elders, but also, strangely enough, among adherents, who, while willing to support the church financially, hesitated to profess its doctrine or to enroll in its actual membership. This latter fact is fairly strong evidence that the backbone of the opposition was not "doctrinal," however much the doctrinal arguments may have been used.

While the desired unanimity was farther off than ever, the General Assembly at Winnipeg decided that, in the light of the expressed desire of the majority and of the various commitments already made regarding coöperation, further postponement of a definite decision to unite was inadvisable; at the same time it did not propose to consummate the union until after the War should be over. The following resolutions were carried by a vote of 406 to 90:

"1. That the report of the Committee on Union be received.

"2. That in accordance with its recommendations this General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada do now resolve to unite with the Methodist Church of Canada and the Congregational Churches of Canada to constitute 'The United Church of Canada,' on the basis of Union, approved by the General Assembly of 1915, and by the majority of Presbyteries since consulted under the Barrier Act.

"3. That this decision be formally announced to the Methodist Church of Canada and the Congregational Churches of Canada.

"4. That a Committee be appointed to carry out the policy of the Assembly and to act in coöperation with Committees of the Methodist and Congregational Churches of Canada in obtaining the necessary legal advice and in taking such steps as may be deemed proper to prepare for making application to the Dominion and Provincial Legislatures for such legislation as may be necessary to secure the conveyance of property to the United Church. That this committee report to the first Assembly following the end of the first year after the close of the war, and that with the consent and authority of that Assembly application be made for the legislation proposed at the following session of the Dominion Parliament and the Provincial Legislatures.

"5. That provision be made in this legislation to conserve the property rights of all congregations that may determine by a majority vote of the communicants not to enter the United Church.

"6. That the union be consummated as soon after the securing of legislation as the regular steps can be taken.

"7. That in the meantime Presbyteries be instructed to move along the lines authorized by the General Assembly in Edmonton in 1912, either by local unions or by withdrawal of one church or the other where serious overlapping is taking place to the detriment of religion.

"8. That to the better furtherance of this end, in each of the thirty-seven Presbyteries of Western Canada, including the four Presbyteries of New Ontario, a committee of three (one of whom shall be the superintendent of the bounds) be appointed to meet a like number of the Methodist Church of Canada and one from the Congregational Church of Canada, where missions of that Church are found, and one from the Union Churches where there are such within the bounds, to advance local union or coöperation of congregations or mission stations, such Joint Committee to be authorized:

(a) To see that Union Churches are regularly visited.
(b) To select from the literature of the Churches what may be suitable for their use and to urge its purchase.
(c) To send delegates to promote liberality in those Union Churches toward missionary, charitable and patriotic objects.
(d) To urge these Churches to take up collections for the various schemes of the Churches, to be divided proportionately between the Churches represented.

"9. That the General Assembly continue to any minister in good standing in this Church who may accept the pastorate of a Union or Coöperative Church the rights that he now enjoys in this Church, and that the Conference of the Methodist Church and the Congregational Union be asked to do the same."

At Winnipeg, therefore, the die was finally cast, and the General Assembly committed the church of which it was the supreme court to Union, unless we assume that in this, as in similar situations, no Assembly is necessarily bound by the decision of its predecessors. Rule 122 of the Presbyterian Church in Canada stated: "The General Assembly being the supreme court of the church, its decisions are final," and the Westminster Confession of Faith, chapter xxxi, says of the decrees and determinations of synods and councils that said "decrees and determinations, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission." But the decision at Winnipeg was received by those opposed to the Union with neither reverence nor submission, and only served to stir to fresh vigor those who had formerly associated themselves in 1912 in the Presbyterian Association for the Federation of the Churches. A giant rally was staged in Saint Andrew's Church, Toronto, in 1916, and the non-concurrents revealed a grim resolution to continue the Presbyterian Church in Canada as a separate entity—"Bring on the bluid an' the stane," said one of them, emulating the grand manner of the Covenanters. At this time the Presbyterian Church Association was formed.

1917

So determined did the opposition grow, and so devastating the controversy, that the General Assembly at its meeting in Montreal called for a truce, which was acceded to by the anti-unionists, at this time led by Principal Fraser of Montreal, who had some time previously written an article in the *Harvard Theological Review* (July, 1915) commending the Basis of Union most heartily. The Montreal resolutions were as follows:

> "1. That the Assembly express its sincere sympathy with the desire conveyed in many of the overtures to avoid disunion among the membership of our own Church, and to this end, earnestly urge upon our people that debate and organized propagandism on either side be discontinued in the meantime, and that a spirit of prayer be cultivated.
>
> "2. That inasmuch as the resolution of the last Assembly sets forth that further action will not be taken until the second Assembly after the close of the war, to secure peace in the meantime, the Assembly urges that controversy on the matter of organic Union be dropped by all parties; that no attempt be made at the present time to set forth in detail the action appropriate to a future period, but that the Church patiently await the new light which it may receive by Divine guidance through the growing experience of the people and the lessons of the war.
>
> "3. That the work of the Union Committee for this period be confined to the superintendence of such practical forms of coöperation as have already been authorized, and that the personnel of this Committee be modified in order to secure the fullest approval for such coöperative requirements."

The Assembly unanimously agreed to the above motion.

1918–1921

During these years, in deference to the truce, an approximate peace prevailed in Presbyterian circles and there are no references to church union in the minutes of the General Assembly in 1918, 1919 and 1920. To be sure, agitation did not wholly cease in certain circles, and where two or three were gathered together there was frequently discussion. There are also some mutual recriminations that the truce was broken. The anti-unionists, for instance, charge that the spirit of the truce was broken when the Presbyterian Church, through its officials, continued to form union or coöperative churches in the western provinces and in New Ontario, and then to say that the West was demanding the consummation of union. It should be pointed out, however, that this course was precisely that approved by the anti-unionists of 1912, when they were urging federation as a substitute for organic union, and later approved again, inferentially, in 1923, when they claimed that the extent and success of the coöperative movement indicated that the ends sought could be obtained without organically welding the three churches into one. Further, such continued coöperation, to which more extended reference must be made in the next chapter, was also peculiarly necessary during the latter years of the War, not only because of the diminished man-power of the ministry in the West, but also by the continued growth of the wheat-growing areas, which, in their efforts to provide the empire with the sinews of war and with the wheat market soaring, were growing most prosperous. These arrangements, moreover, had been duly authorized by the General Assembly, and reaffirmed in 1916.

Meanwhile the other denominations had been marking time, reappointing their committees and waiting for the Presbyterian Church in Canada to integrate its mind, if that were possible. The Congregationalists, at their successive annual meetings, continued to pass resolutions advising patience and continued coöperation and expressing regret that the delay was seriously threatening the inner life of each of the three churches. The General Conference of the Methodist Church had not met since the revision of the "Basis" in 1914, but in October, 1918, one month before the Armistice was declared, it came together for its quadrennial meeting in Hamilton. The long delay in the negotiations was beginning to weigh heavily with some of the members and the West was beginning to show its impatience. The Saskatchewan Conference sent in the following memorial:

> "That whereas negotiations for union have now been going on for fifteen years; and whereas the local union movement is spreading rapidly, and we believe that the Church should lead rather than be led; and whereas the Methodist Church is really the Union Church, ever consistently standing for union, and therefore should claim the place of leadership:
>
> "We therefore recommend (1) that the General Conference notify the Presbyterian Church that, believing that the time is more than ripe to recognize the demand for union, it is our intention in June, 1920, to adopt the Basis of Union, inviting all existing Union churches and any other evangelical bodies wishing to join with us in organizing The United Church of Canada, and calling the General Council of that Church to meet at that date; and (2) that the General Conference should suggest very earnestly to the Presbyterian Church that the acute situation, especially in the West, and the swift movements going on, call for a reconsideration of the policy adopted by that Church."

This resolution seemed devised to force the hand of the Presbyterians in dealing with the non-concurring group, but the General Conference refused to be stampeded and counselled further patience, as follows:

"The General Conference does not deem it fitting to suggest to the Presbyterian Church a reconsideration of the policy adopted by that Church; but while recognizing the acute situation resulting from long delay, the General Conference would counsel patience, a wise and Christian endeavor to meet pressing local situations by coöperation, a cordial spirit towards those local Methodist and Presbyterian congregations that have with good intent anticipated the consummation of organic union, and always a loyal devotion to the work of Christ committed to our Church."

At the same meeting, the General Superintendent, Rev. S. D. Chown, D.D., well expressed the disappointment and the mind of his church in these words from his address:

"In our judgment, it is greatly to be regretted that organic union between the Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist Churches in Canada did not take place prior to the outbreak of war. Had it been done, we could unitedly have performed the imperative social and spiritual work of the Canadian Army Corps with impressiveness, strength and abundant resources. If the United Church of Canada had become an accomplished fact at the opening of hostilities, the different bodies composing it would have welded together in the heat of conflict, and would have come out of it solidified in their unity; and, with a perfect and well-tried organization, would have been prepared to march with certain tread into the great future. As it is, the present organizations dissolve shortly after the war is over, and it will take considerable time before we attain to that degree of mutual insight and knowledge of each other which will give the United Church the most solid and efficient organization of which she is capable.

"Surely the ecclesiastical mind could have been trusted to attain to a largeness of vision and endeavor proportionate to the growth of the commercial and political intellect of the country. Why should the Church doom herself to depreciation in the eyes of the advancing world? Was it necessary publicly to admit that the trammels of traditionalism were fatal to an attempt to keep step with the cohorts of freedom marching forward to the heights of opportunity revealed by the shining lights which bathe the hilltops of achievement today? Herein Methodism is blameless. While doing our own work with energy and faith, we have stood in respect to the coming day of larger union in Canada, as silent watchers for the dawn."

1921

The War had ended in 1918, and the General Assembly, in accordance with its resolution passed at the Winnipeg meeting in 1916, might properly have considered the next steps at the 1920 meeting. The Unionists, however, gave their opponents a year's grace[6] and then the General Assembly, meeting in Toronto in 1921, ordered by a vote of 414 to 107:

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[6] The Methodist General Conference would not meet before 1922.

"That whereas, during the time when by general agreement, the matter of Union was not discussed, nothing has occurred to change the mind of the Church, but rather to confirm and strengthen its previous decision,

"Therefore, be it resolved that this General Assembly take such steps as may be deemed best to consummate organic union with the above-named churches as expeditiously as possible."

The amendment proposed by Principal Fraser that the Assembly refrain from any action which would disturb the peace that has "so largely prevailed during the last four years," and also "at no time to seek the consummation of Organic Union without a clear and unmistakable mandate from the people," was lost by the same vote 107 to 414.

The Toronto resolution really authorized the Assembly's committee on Church Union to canvass the entire legal situation and to prepare a bill such as the General Assembly might properly submit to Parliament in its effort to secure legislation enabling the merging of the churches. The years 1921–1924 are characterized, therefore, by an appeal to Cæsar and by a struggle to obtain the sanction of Parliament. This was so important and so intense that a whole chapter must be reserved for its consideration.[7]

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[7] See chapter ix.

REACTIONS OF THE MINORITY GROUPS

It is obvious that the official action of the three denominations, as recorded in their higher courts in various votes and decisions, is only part of the general reaction of the denominations concerned. The psychology of the three groups is quite as important as their official attitude. It could hardly be expected that the proposals would be unanimously approved by everyone, in any of the denominations, and while organized opposition of a serious character developed only in the Presbyterian Church, non-concurrents were to be found in the other two churches as not only the votes, but letters to the religious press and other anti-union propaganda testify. For the most part, however, the "anti-union" Methodists and Congregationalists, once the majority had spoken, acquiesced, while the Presbyterian minority fought all the more strenuously.

The principles and motives that actuated the parties concerned were greatly mixed and can only be stated in general terms. Even at the time when the issues were being settled, it would have been hardly possible to unravel the minds of those who ardently supported or as ardently opposed the union movement. The director of this study has been interested and sometimes amused in comparing the reasons given for the attitude of certain prominent leaders in the movements *pro* and *con,* as stated by themselves, with the reasons alleged by their opponents. It was especially interesting to make these comparisons in the cases of persons who switched from one side to the other as the controversy developed. In general, those who were explaining their own attitude assumed a very high devotion to principle, while those who explained their opponents' course of action frequently suggested not only personal advantage but also personal hostility as the dynamic of behavior. This is perhaps an inevitable outcome of a controversy waged in certain circles so bitterly and over so extended a period. It is fair to assume that in many participants devotion to principles and hostility to persons were mixed in about equal proportions. Not alone Turks, but also Christians, when scratched, reveal some Tartar blood. In a small Nova Scotia community, where before the union there was only one church and now there are two churches, an elderly man gave as his version of the difficulty that "the devil got into them." His explanation is perhaps as scientifically accurate as any.

Before concluding this section of the report, however, it is well to state some of the prevailing attitudes, especially of those opposed to union, which existed in minority groups in each of these three denominations.

The Congregationalists

The reaction of the Congregationalists must be considered in the light of their weakness. In the 1910 *Yearbook,* 120 churches were listed with 36 additional preaching stations, but eight churches in Ontario were marked "closed" and one in British Columbia was designated "disbanded." For reasons already indicated, Congregationalism had been declining in spite of an heroic effort, launched and practically achieved between 1903 and 1906, to free all the churches of debt. This consciousness of weakness created a greater willingness to accede to the demand for a more closely-knit connexional polity than might have been the case had the denomination been strong and vigorous and well able to continue on a basis of larger independency. One of the Congregational leaders of the time expressed what many others felt when he said that he wished to spend some of the years of his life "in a big church."

While all Congregationalists were theoretically attracted by the lure of Christian unity, most of them believed that Christian unity, if ever attained, would be achieved only by the recognition of the principle of the freedom of the local church, which was a distinctive principle of Congregationalism. Consequently, many were not enthusiastic over a solution of the Canadian problem which, even if it permitted a large measure of local autonomy for the churches that previously enjoyed such privileges, provided a closely knit connexional system for the rest. Believing, in common with the Baptists, that Christian principles flourished most easily under a polity which combined local autonomy with fellowship, they viewed the proposed "merger" of churches with some anxiety. Others, however, saw that if Canada were to be properly supplied with churches and ministers, the strong would have to bear the infirmities of the weak, not merely in the spirit of *noblesse oblige,* but under the compulsion of a stern sense of moral obligation.

In the early days of the controversy, a good many Congregationalists felt that it was hardly gracious for them to enter into negotiations for union at the very time when they had accepted, in connection with the Jubilee Fund, 1903–1906, substantial financial assistance from the British Congregationalists. One of the members of the British deputation to Canada at that time expressed himself in the denominational weekly as believing that Congregationalists had more in common with the Baptists than they had with either Presbyterians or Methodists. A Montreal lawyer asked why the Congregationalists should continue negotiations looking to a united church in which ordination would undoubtedly be in the hands of either the presbytery or the conference (to use the names later adopted), when the Congregational Association in Quebec had just refused to arrogate to itself that right on traditional grounds.[8] A few preferred federal to organic union, but when the prevailing sympathy throughout the churches registered itself in favor of organic union, most of these fell quickly into line and refrained from further criticism.

Doctrinally, Congregationalism ran true to form in urging a simplification of the statement of faith, which was, however, not obtained, and in demanding a significant change in the nature of the subscription to the doctrine of the church required on the part of ordinands, which was finally made. Even so, the doctrinal basis did not wholly satisfy everybody. A few of the more liberally minded feared that in the new church the advocates of a conservative and reactionary theology, who were at this time most aggressive, might triumph and make the continuance of liberal opinion extremely precarious. Thus, in a discussion on church union at the Fifth International Congregational Council held at Bournemouth in 1930, Rev. W. E. Gilroy, D.D., former editor of the *Canadian Congregationalist* and now editor-in-chief of *The Congregationalist and Herald of Gospel Liberty* (Boston), stated that he had found himself "challenged by twenty articles of religion and by the policy of connexionalism." He "was not prepared to leave the church he loved because he was unwilling to assent to such articles, or to accept a church so organized, even if it did represent a great body of opinion in Canada."[9] Before Union was actually consummated, Dr. Gilroy, who had come into Canadian Congregationalism from Methodism, left Canada and took a church in the United States. He was later called to edit the outstanding journal of the denomination in that country. His Congregationalism was thus not a matter of inheritance but of conviction. When Dr. Gilroy made this statement at Bournemouth, one of the representatives from The United Church of Canada who was present and who had been a former Congregationalist, replied:

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[8] See letter in *Canadian Congregationalist,* April 30, 1908.

[9] See Report of Proceedings, Fifth International Congregational Council.

> "He did not know a single instance in which restrictions had been placed on his belief and practice as a minister of the United Church which were not there when he was a Congregational minister. It was true that the organization was largely Presbyterian, but the spirit of freedom was there."

A few Congregational churches, on the other hand, were afraid that the doctrinal basis was too lax, and every Congregational church that voted not to enter The United Church of Canada, stayed out on doctrinal grounds. These churches were intensely evangelical, even mildly fundamentalistic. They feared that a modernistic and narrowly social gospel would come between the rank and file of the church and a personal Saviour.

In 1911, the chairman of the Congregational Union issued a message to the churches in the denominational weekly, in which he suggested that since church union was not, to all appearances, to be speedily realized, Congregationalism should gird itself for a renewed effort. To this end, he proposed a keener realization of the distinctive mission and message of Congregationalism. A few weeks later, the Toronto District Association of Congregational Churches, at its regular meeting, passed resolutions expressing its regret at the utterances of the chairman and pledged itself anew to the prosecution of the movement for union.

One of the wealthiest Congregationalists, who had given most munificently to the denomination in its Jubilee Fund of 1903–1906, was definitely opposed to union and felt that if the Congregationalists would only show greater loyalty to each other and especially to the college, they would find a distinct and necessary place in the religious life of the country. He doubted even the wisdom of federation. He had, in addition to his many other benevolences, paid the salary of the General Superintendent of the Congregational Churches for the first few years after that office had been created, and now intimated that he was willing to increase his gifts if the Congregational leaders would only discontinue all negotiations for union. The leaders, however, did not hesitate to throw all their influence on the side of union, and in the end this prominent layman left the church in Montreal with which he was connected and took sittings in a church of another denomination. He died in 1911.

Strangely enough, in the later days of the discussion, the only person to raise formal objections in a series of articles in the denominational paper was Judge Seth P. Leet, of Montreal, who had been a member of the Joint Committee and had actually seconded the final motion in that body in 1908, when the committee had declared its work as substantially completed, in the words:

> "They commit it to the Great Head of the Church for His Blessing, and to those portions of His Church which they represent with confident hope of their approval."

In these articles, which appeared in March and April, 1923, he said:

> "I like the Congregational order and system best, but if it shall be decided that there is no need for special emphasis to be put on distinctive Congregational principles, that Congregationalism had served its day and that there is no further place or need of it in Canada, I would very much prefer that we become Presbyterians or Methodists than be a party to introducing into the sisterhood of churches another denomination. While in Canada we might have two less denominations (though that is by no means sure) in the Christian world we shall have another. . . . The creed and polity of the proposed church are to form part of an Act of Parliament. Will that be more conducive to a deeper spiritual life, a better realization of God's presence and guidance in the lives of the membership and the churches? . . . Does any one think that our membership and churches will give more time, work and gifts for the work of the Kingdom of God? . . . The anticipation of Union has certainly hindered our efforts; will the realization increase them or give greater results? I doubt it. . . . The polity and organization of the new Church has really nothing of Congregationalism in it. In joining the new Church we are putting all our distinctive principles behind us. . . . We have a creed which is part of an Act of Parliament. Can you imagine a creed more perpetual and unchanging than that? . . . As to the settlement of ministers, the Settlement Committee thus has the final say as to who shall be the pastor of a church. Is there any Congregationalism in this? . . . If there is overlapping and if it is an evil, I do not believe that Congregationalists are responsible for it. . . . If the proposed new union is consummated, those of us who join it can never have another such experience" [i.e., the International Congregational Council meetings at Boston, in 1920].

It may be that in these articles Judge Leet was simply summarizing the objections to union from a Congregational viewpoint in the hope that the churches, in making their final vote, would not act blindly but intelligently. It may be that he was influenced by many of the arguments, especially those connected with law, propounded by the Presbyterians opposed to union. It may be that his native Congregationalism proved resurgent on the eve of the great decision. It may be that his change of views was due to the natural conservative tendencies of advancing age. At all events, he was the only Congregationalist to state the arguments against union to the churches at large. In pointing out that "the anticipation of union has certainly hindered our efforts" he uttered what all Congregationalists recognized as patently true. They had readily understood that for them Union spelled for the most part absorption, and this feeling cut the nerve of action and dried up the springs of liberality, their success in the Forward Movement notwithstanding. In his fear that the proposed creed was as fixed as by the law of the Medes and Persians, Judge Leet was writing before there had been incorporated into the Dominion Act (Section 28b) clauses under which the right of the United Church to modify its laws, formulas and subordinate standards from time to time as it saw fit, was duly affirmed.

With the few exceptions as stated, Congregationalists gave their unwavering support to the movement.

The Methodists

It must not be assumed, in view of the large majority in favor of Union polled among the Methodists, that there was no effective opposition in that church. The official organ of the Methodist Church, *The Christian Guardian,* during 1911–1912 contains a great many articles and letters from correspondents on the subject, and those opposed utilized quite as much space as those in favor. Some of the opposition was purely sentimental and rooted in an irresistible glorification of the very name Methodism and everything that went with it. Conscious of the great contribution to Christian civilization which had been made by "the people called Methodists" since the first years of the eighteenth century, when the great revival had come down upon England and America like showers upon the parched grass, they were unwilling that such denominational glory should in any whit seem to be forgotten.

Still others objected specifically to the doctrinal basis which they criticized as seeking to harmonize the inherently incompatible doctrines of Calvin and Arminius. A notable opponent of the Union on these grounds was the Professor of Old Testament Literature in the Methodist College at Montreal. Another opponent circularized the church against Union and appealed to the Fundamentalist wing by such criticism as this:

> "The proposed Basis of Doctrine left out certain words in the article on the Lord Jesus Christ to conciliate the Unitarian tendency in one of the contracting bodies; it eliminated the conception of the Holy Ghost as 'Very and Eternal God' and indulged in some homiletical exegesis."

The criticism of the doctrinal basis, however, was less emphatic than that of the sections on polity, in spite of the fact that during these very years a serious controversy was being waged in Methodist circles over the higher criticism, the centre of which was the Rev. Professor George Jackson, an English Wesleyan then serving on the staff of Victoria College in Toronto.

The Methodist objections to the proposed polity largely centred in the provisions for the settlement of ministers and their authority in the congregation when once settled, and especially in what seemed to be an unfair adjustment in the use of the superannuation funds. The reservation of their holy autonomy by the Congregationalists stirred the wrath of some on the ground that the proposed polity would destroy Methodist connexionalism, "as it would enable Congregationalists and those who sympathized with separate independents to carry on a propaganda within the United Church till strong enough to stand alone"; and further, "the Polity discriminated in favor of the Congregationalists. This Basis provides special privileges for an aggressive minority that will lead to as much trouble as Separate Schools in Ontario or Manitoba." Others criticized the large variety of forms of government for the local church permitted by the "Basis" which consequently, in their opinion, could not unite: "he that was Presbyterian would be Presbyterian still."

As intimated, however, the major fears were in regard to the itineracy and the superannuation fund, for on these points, "vested rights" seemed threatened. If the Presbyterians needed to be reassured that the settlement committee would not have the unlimited powers of the old stationing committee of the former Methodist Church, the Methodists were afraid that the settlement committee would not have sufficient power. Even the abolition of the time limit to the pastorate aroused many, some of whom seemed convinced as a matter of principle that short pastorates led on the whole to more general efficiency, while others felt it inconsistent that the General Conference should acquiesce in a "Basis" which removed the time limit completely, when at a former meeting it had positively refused to extend the time limit in its own church beyond four years, by an overwhelming vote.

The most real, possibly, of all the objections was that raised by the Rev. Dr. Griffin, who was secretary of the superannuation fund. He had been on the Joint Union Committee from the first, but he vigorously attacked the entire scheme because it postponed the various adjustments in the amalgamation of similar funds in the three denominations until after Union should actually be consummated. Dr. Griffin maintained that the Methodist fund differed fundamentally from the Presbyterian and Congregational funds. The latter were largely benevolences, the bulk of the resources being raised by volunteer offerings in the churches and no minister being required to be a member of the fund. The Methodist superannuation fund, on the other hand, received the bulk of its money from definite assessments on both churches and ministers, from the payment of which there was no escape. Dr. Griffin could see no way in which a real parity could be established in the relation of the ministers of the negotiating churches to their respective annuity funds unless all accepted the more rigorous requirements of Methodism. Otherwise a mere statement to the effect that the equities of the various ministers in the annuity funds at the time of Union would be sacredly protected would prove only a scrap of paper, in any financial stress that might arise. Why should one church, just because it happened to be originally Methodist, be expected to continue paying an assessment to the funds, especially if it engaged as its minister a former Presbyterian who was not a member of any fund? Why should any church that happened to be formerly Presbyterian or Congregational be able to continue to make its annual donations a matter of its own discretion, although it might possibly be employing as its minister a former Methodist who had a very substantial equity in one of the funds which would have to be reckoned with at the time of his superannuation?

The difficulty outlined by Dr. Griffin was very real and the only adjustment possible involved a confidence in the essential fairness of the church, which was proposed. The seriousness of his objection, however, might have been felt much less keenly had the church at large, and Dr. Griffin in particular, been aware of the facts which later developed when the funds were studied more carefully from an actuarial point of view, and it was found that, in spite of their larger benefits, the superannuation fund of the Methodist Church was not as actuarially sound and did not have nearly as large real assets as the Presbyterian and Congregational funds.

Attention must also be paid to one other criticism which appears in the literature of the time, although it does not seem to have been nearly as keenly felt as those already mentioned. It is put quite baldly in a leaflet issued by Methodist anti-unionists in their appeal to the church:

> "It destroyed the authority of the minister; whereas public worship was under the control and direction of the superintendent of the circuit, in the proposed basis the oversight of the spiritual interests of the church was shared by the minister and a body of men chosen and set apart or ordained for that work. In our church, no interested layman can dictate to our minister, no employer of labor can dictate the ministerial attitude and preaching re the Lord's Day and no interested layman can influence the preacher's attitude on temperance. Ask the general secretaries of these interests as to the benefit of our independent ministry."

Methodism, however, felt that no matter how great the difficulties involved in amalgamating the churches might be, the ends to be gained in more effectively providing Canada with adequately manned and equipped centers of Christian culture, were vastly greater, and hence when the annual conferences had expressed their approval of the "Basis" and the General Conference had acted, active opposition to the movement stopped. It would be an unfair criticism of Methodism to maintain that in such a situation the Methodists were merely more accustomed to obedience and to playing the game of "follow the leader."

As a matter of fact there is a hitherto unrecorded page in the history of the movement upon which the Methodist leaders have maintained a general silence. During the debate in the meeting of the General Conference in 1910, the Hon. Justice Maclaren, one of the most distinguished Methodist laymen, had thrown some consternation into the meeting by dwelling on certain of the legal difficulties involved in union and by intimating that any act of Parliament which could be secured preliminary to such a union would probably include of necessity a provision whereby any congregation of any of the three churches that did not wish to come into the Union could remain as it was. After the General Conference had rendered its decision, the outstanding opponents of the movement within Methodism came together to consider their future course of action, and frankly faced the possibilities of the situation which Justice Maclaren had indicated. After a period of earnest prayer together in an effort to envisage what such a disruption might mean to the cause of Christ in Canada, these leaders agreed among themselves that since the church had expressed its will in a constitutional manner and most emphatically, they would recognize that decision as the voice of the church and withhold all further opposition.

From that time on the Methodist Church was a unit, and even when Methodists were deeply hurt by the nature of many of the criticisms directed against them as apostates to Christian truth and hypocrites in their moral behavior, they climbed the heights above insult, maintained an almost sublime silence, encouraged no answers to their accusers except those made by persons who were not Methodists, and throughout the long years of delay and disappointment kept the faith in the possibility and desirability of church union. There is no divided testimony on this point, even among those whose instincts and traditions reject "Methodist" practice and principles. Nothing did more than this display of high-mindedness in face of attack to tie the unionist elements in the Presbyterian and Congregational churches to the Methodists. To this extent the crucible of fire in which the constituent elements of the United Church were fused together in the trying days immediately preceding the consummation of Union must be regarded as no inconsiderable factor in whatever success The United Church of Canada has actually been able to achieve.

The Presbyterians

The opposition to the proposed union on the part of a fairly large number of Presbyterians was particularly strenuous and complicated. In general, there were four distinct periods of opposition.

First Period, 1902–1911: During this period the opposition was somewhat sporadic and not organized. Many who doubted whether any positive steps towards union could ever result from the negotiations saw no harm in talking the matter over with representatives of the two other denominations. Others felt so strongly the superiority and perfection of Presbyterian doctrine and polity that they recoiled from all thought of union. Still others sat in the shadow of the decision of the House of Lords in the famous case of the Free Church of Scotland versus Lord Overtoun, 1904, in which the minority of the Free Church of Scotland that was unwilling to unite with the United Presbyterian Church to form the United Free Church secured the right to the use of the original name and to all the endowments and properties of the Free Church. Those who had intimate experience of the grave legal difficulties confronting the "unionist" forces in Scotland at the time were naturally hesitant about initiating any proceedings that might lead to a similar debacle in Canada and did not hesitate to say so. Then, too, part of the opposition at this time was personal hostility to one of the leading champions of union, Principal Patrick, whose scholarship might be admired but whose withering scorn for those that did not share his views added little to the peace of Zion. A young and brilliant Canadian had come back from studies in Scotland to take an important city church. He had been in Scotland during the "Wee Free" controversy, and ventured to express his fears and forebodings on the floor of the General Assembly; but Principal Patrick openly assailed his youth and his inexperience, with the result that many of the younger men, however inarticulate, felt that no man should be allowed to despise their youth, and transferred their sympathy from Principal Patrick to the cause of the man he had pilloried.

In 1910 the General Assembly received and declared its approval of the proposed "Basis," and ordered it sent down to the presbyteries under the Barrier Act. This action led to the first important dissents formally expressed in the General Assembly to the effect that (a) the matter should go to the congregations without being prejudiced by the favorable vote of the Assembly, and, (b) that the church was not competent to take such a step since the discussion of the vital issue involved, namely the continued existence of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, was not permitted among members of the Assembly who desired and had a right to express their views.

Second Period, 1911–1916: When the General Assembly of 1910 had formally approved the "Basis" and sent it down to the presbyteries under the Barrier Act, the opposition to church union naturally organized itself, but at this time the opposition took the form of not denying the evils of overlapping, but of urging federation as a solution. An organization was formed which called itself The Presbyterian Association for the Federation of the Churches of the Protestant Denominations. Letters to the religious press at this time from men who were opposed to the merging of the Presbyterians in Canada in any other body or with any other bodies, constantly held up the example of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America as one to be emulated in Canada. Such correspondents, however, seemed to know the work of the Federal Council of the time with little intimacy, for they assumed that it was successfully preventing overlapping and overchurching. This organization was the nucleus of the opposition when the first vote was taken in 1911–12, but it does not seem to have had any employed officers or to have issued much literature except the appeals to the people in letters from its members in the Presbyterian periodicals.

Perhaps, it would be fair to state that, in urging coöperation, the opponents of union did not necessarily believe that coöperation was desirable. They recognized, however, that something had to be done to prevent wasteful overlapping, and coöperation was better, to their way of thinking, than organic union. The supporters of union, on the other hand, also saw that coöperation was imperative to prevent overlapping, but believed that coöperation would undoubtedly lead to union.

THIRD PERIOD, 1916–1923: When the General Assembly at Winnipeg, in 1916, voted formally to commit the church to a union that should, however, not be consummated until a year after the conclusion of the War, a new and vigorous type of opposition arose. Thirty-two members of the Assembly signed a dissent and protest—

> "That this General Assembly, having voted by a majority to adopt in the Basis of Union with the Congregational and Methodist Churches of Canada, a constitution entirely different from that of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, has thereby ceased to be a General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; that those who voted against the motion to adopt this new constitution alone have a right to seats in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; that all those who have gone on record as voting for the adoption of this new constitution, by that act have ceased to be of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and have no legal right to take part in transacting the business of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; and we do further protest that if we continue to act with them in dealing with the business of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, we are not to be held as recognizing their rights to seats in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada."

The Assembly, in formally answering this dissent, denied that it had adopted in the Basis of Union, "a constitution entirely different from that of the Presbyterian Church in Canada"; that the giving up of the name "Presbyterian" did not necessarily imply a surrender of Presbyterian theory or practice, since no one of the three parent churches of Scotland—The

Church of Scotland, the United Free Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland—had the word "Presbyterian" in its official title. The Assembly further affirmed "the freedom of the Church, as the living body of Christ indwelt by His Spirit, to modify its doctrine, discipline, government and worship as fuller light may be received, and in order to the more effective fulfilment of its mission in the world," and declared the assertion that only non-concurrents could constitute the Presbyterian Church in Canada absurd, since that church was governed by its constituted courts and was not a group of individuals; and

> "if a small group of members of the Assembly who do not think with the majority is to defy the decision of the Presbyteries, and is to block Union . . . what is to become of the government of the Church by Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods and General Assemblies, which our Ministers and Elders have solemnly avowed to maintain and defend?"

When the General Assembly had concluded its work, steps were immediately taken to develop a new and more aggressive type of opposition. The former organization, created in 1911, was discarded, and a new organization, the Presbyterian Church Association, was formed at a giant rally at St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, in October, 1916. Its aim was to fight for the continuance of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Dr. Andrew Robertson acted for a time as both president and secretary. Its propaganda was somewhat circumscribed, however, by reason of the truce asked by the General Assembly and conceded by all parties between 1917 and 1920, and its activity as an organization ceased during this period. When the General Assembly of 1921 authorized its Church Union Committee to prepare and draft legislation enabling the consummation of union, fires broke out again, and the Presbyterian Church Association was revived and employed the Rev. J. W. MacNamara, D.D., as its executive secretary. He assumed his new duties in January, 1923. The legislation which the committee prepared was only finally approved by the General Assembly at the Port Arthur meeting in 1923, and between 1921 and 1923 the opponents of Union rallied their forces in an unsuccessful effort to prevent the Assembly from authorizing the recourse to law.

Fortunately for the historian, the masterly debate in this Assembly has been preserved in its entirety in a stenographic record consisting of 316 typewritten pages. The outstanding figure among the opponents of union was the Rev. D. R. Drummond, D.D., of Hamilton, who had previously issued a pamphlet entitled *Is There Not a Way Out?* Dr. Drummond again urged the postponement of union with the continuance of coöperation to prevent overlapping—a sort of federal union as opposed to organic union. As the debate went on in the Assembly, he was not permitted by a ruling of the Moderator to answer a question as to whether he hoped that such coöperation would ultimately lead to organic union or not. The Moderator took the position that the union of the churches had already been decided; that the Union Committee had been charged with the task of preparing definite legislation to submit to the Assembly; that the consideration of their report was the matter before the Assembly; and that unless their report were laid on the table, any debate on an amendment which would "sidetrack" organic union was out of order. When his ruling was appealed, the Assembly sustained him.

It is quite evident from various testimonies that Dr. Drummond was in favor of union but averse to any action that would cause a serious disruption in the church. Hence he sought a *via media,* but he failed in his attempt to win support for a further postponement of the decisive and divisive issue.

FOURTH PERIOD, 1923–1925: After the Port Arthur decision, it became increasingly necessary for ministers who had hitherto remained silent or hesitant to commit themselves. Hundreds stood in the valley of indecision, and not a few joined the ranks of the anti-unionists because they were, like Dr. Drummond, opposed to any step that would disrupt the church, and, as one of the leaders in the continuing Presbyterian Church put it, "exchange the church they knew as a going concern for one that was problematical." [10]

The Port Arthur decision, however, forced back the opponents of Union to their last ditch, that of law, and so they rallied their forces, perfected their organization and employed as their general organizer, a returned chaplain, the Rev. (Major) W. F. McConnell. Major McConnell was an Ulster Irishman, who came out to Canada in 1905 and after some years in business studied in Montreal and later entered the Presbyterian ministry. Principal Fraser, who was then President of the Presbyterian Church Association, recommended that the organization proceed along two lines, (a) the creation of a literature which should state the case against Union, and (b) the creation of organizations in every synod, presbytery and congregation.

Major McConnell elaborated these suggestions into a four-fold policy:

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[10] Those who believe that the professional ministry stand in the way of organic union must revise their thinking in the light of the developments in Canada. The vast majority of the ministers were for union; the opposition was surprisingly laic. This had also been the situation in the Presbyterian Union of 1875. In the life of *George Monro Grant,* the authors refer to the situation in Pictou County at that time and add: "The ministers were favourable, or at worst neutral, but in the laity, as often, the fires of fanaticism burnt far more fiercely" (p. 151).

First, in regard to publicity, the Presbyterian Church Association first attempted to send out bundles of pamphlets to the ministers for distribution among their own parishioners. Since, however, the majority of the ministers were in favor of Union, they did not distribute the literature and much of it was wasted. Major McConnell then called in publicity agents who arranged for the insertion of advertisements in chains of newspapers throughout the country, although it must not be assumed that all the paid advertisements which appeared in Canadian newspapers at this time, urging the continuance of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, were authorized or approved by the central organization. In many instances, well-to-do laymen prepared and paid for advertisements which called for opposition to the Union and, in some instances, on their own responsibility, attacked rather viciously the Methodist Church.

Second, Major McConnell was assisted by four "lieutenants" who sought to perfect regional organizations of the opposition, the first in the Maritimes, the second in the Montreal and Quebec area, the third in Ontario and the fourth in western Ontario. It was very difficult to secure any organizer in the West, and the work there devolved very largely upon Major McConnell himself. An organization was attempted in every synod, in every presbytery and in every local congregation. The synodical organizations only got together at the time of the regular synod meetings, but these worked to secure key-men in every presbytery where possible. In every congregation where the minister himself was opposed to Union he naturally acted as the representative of the organization, and where the minister was not opposed to Union, some layman was found to head up the opposition. Later the Presbyterian women organized their own opposition. This seems to have been spontaneous on their part and originated with some of the anti-unionist leaders in the missionary society. This movement had been initiated prior to the appointment of the general organizer, but soon became thoroughly integrated in the whole movement. It was so effective that unionists admit the organized opposition of the women was the most serious factor which they had to encounter since the women made house-to-house canvasses behind the unionist ministers' backs, distributing literature, stressing the arguments against Union and appealing for the loyal preservation of the traditions of the Presbyterian Church.

Third, these various local organizations headed up a card-signing campaign in which some 114,000 church-members signed cards promising to remain members of the Presbyterian Church, come what might. In this connection it is interesting to note that the final vote against Union registered in the parishes was almost exactly this number.

Fourth, the objectives of all these organizations were three-fold:

1. To prevent, if possible, the passing in Dominion and Provincial Parliaments of the enabling legislation sought and desired by the Joint Union Committee on behalf of the three churches.

2. If it were found impossible to prevent such legislation then the Association sought to secure the best possible terms for the non-concurring minorities.

3. When the legislation was finally passed and individual churches were permitted to take a vote in the congregation as to whether they would or would not enter The United Church of Canada, the Presbyterian Church Association sought to leave no stone unturned to force the vote on the local church wherever the minister or the session were known to have avoided the taking of such a vote.

In the Maritime provinces, anti-unionists wore buttons in an effort to declare their own opposition and to encourage that of others. The Presbyterian Church Association had two official publications, *The Presbyterian Standard,* the first issue of which appeared in September, 1923, and the *Bulletin of the Continuing Presbyterian Church,* the first issue of which was published April 18, 1925.

The period 1923–1925 was characterized by the greatest bitterness. Ministers who were trying to avoid any controversy in their congregation or to declare themselves one way or the other were forced by the campaign agents of one or both groups out into the open, and then witnessed their congregations split from top to bottom by electioneering campaigns of the two factions. Some ministers were congratulating themselves on the comparative peace of their parishes only to discover that, while they were quietly preparing their "message," propagandists were, like the distinguished adversary in the parable, sowing tares in the congregation, and that when the votes were finally taken, there were, from their point of view, more tares than wheat. In the early stages many men who disliked the Union on temperamental or other grounds withheld their coöperation from the Presbyterian Church Association, believing that their cause was hopeless and that whatever they did they could not hope to win. They advised acquiescence. For this reason the opponents of Union took steps to secure, at the earliest possible moment, the votes of strong churches which they knew to be opposed to Union. Thus, St. Andrew's, Toronto, expressed itself almost immediately as resolved not to enter the United Church. In other cases, even before the formal vote was taken, straw votes of the membership were attempted by the local organization of the Presbyterian Association, and results adverse to Union received wide publicity. Such procedure tended to encourage the faint-hearted among anti-unionists and secured the active opposition of many who but a short time before had passively acquiesced in Union.

About a year before the Port Arthur General Assembly, a group of Presbyterians, favoring Union, came together in Toronto to consider what they ought to do to secure approval in the local congregations for the official commitment by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to the Union. They realized clearly that, while the die had been cast, unless a strenuous effort were made to secure the loyal support of local congregations, the Presbyterian Church in Canada might officially go into the Union and yet a large number of the local congregations stay out. They were quite conscious of the seriousness of the opposition. Consequently they decided to establish a bureau of publicity, to secure the advice of publicity experts to watch carefully all propaganda in all newspapers, whether in the form of advertisements or of letters from correspondents which decried the Union, and to see that these were satisfactorily answered from their own point of view; to prepare whatever literature was necessary to interpret the action of the Assembly, to present the matter in public meetings, and to advance the cause of Union generally. They put in charge of this movement, the Rev. R. J. Wilson, D.D., minister of Chalmers Presbyterian Church in Kingston, Ontario. Dr. Wilson at first gave only part time to such work, but at the end of six months he resigned from the pastorate and devoted himself exclusively to this task. In September, 1923, the work of this specifically Presbyterian committee was merged in a bureau of literature, information and public meetings of the Joint Committee, and the literature was issued not alone in the name of the Presbyterian Church but of all three churches. This association of the three churches published tons of literature, as the statement, not wholly complete, presented to the First General Council of The United Church of Canada, indicates.

After this committee had rendered very considerable service in securing, in coöperation with the committee on law, the enabling legislation, it also did much to urge the vote favorable to Union in the individual congregations. Another city pastor, the Rev. John Woodside, D.D., of Ottawa, was released at this time by the Presbyterian Church to supervise the taking of the vote. Naturally, one of the problems that soon arose related to the future conduct of a strong unionist minority in a church that had voted not to enter the United Church. Should they go out and join a Presbyterian church in the community that had voted into Union or a Methodist or a Congregational church, or should they remain as they were and seek perhaps to influence the membership of the continuing Presbyterian church from within? So many inquiries came to the office on this point that on January 2, 1925, after the voting in the churches had begun, Dr. Woodside issued a communication which listed various procedures that the Unionist minority in a non-concurring congregation might take, and which reveals the complications in countless local situations.[11] When this letter was seen by those opposed to Union it increased the bitterness and induced many non-concurring churches to purge their rolls of all unionist sympathizers, with the result that congregations were torn more widely asunder than ever.

After the taking of the vote, the opponents of Union took steps to "continue" the Presbyterian Church when the General Assembly of 1925 should adjourn. Each non-concurring church was asked to send representatives to Toronto, so that when the Fifty-first General Assembly came to an end, according to the unionist philosophy, on June 9, 1925, after completing all arrangements for their participation in the formal inauguration of The United Church of Canada on the following day, the non-concurrents would continue the meetings of the Assembly. When the Moderator of the General Assembly adjourned the Assembly, the non-concurrents met by themselves in a section of the church and on behalf of seventy-nine commissioners laid a protest upon the table declaring:

> "Notwithstanding the Action of the Assembly in 1916, or any further action by the prevailing party in this Assembly, it shall be lawful for us, together with such other commissioners as may adhere to us, to continue in session in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, on Thursday, June 11th, 1925, as commissioners to the fifty-first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and there, in humble dependence on God's grace, and the aid of the Holy Spirit, and maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and standards of the Church as hitherto understood, to adopt such measures as may be competent to us, for the continuance of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, to the advancement of God's glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour throughout the world, and the orderly administration of Christ's House according to His Holy Word.
>
> "And finally we do protest before the great God, Searcher of all hearts, that we, and all those who shall adhere to us, are not responsible for this schism in the Church or for any consequences which may flow from this enforced separation. In humble submission to His will, we give this our testimony. To Him we commend our cause, and we pray that in the days to come His richest blessing may rest upon the Church of our fathers, which Church we are resolved by His help to maintain."

On the following day, June 10, the formal inauguration of The United Church of Canada was solemnly celebrated in Toronto. On the same day, a congress of all non-concurrents was held in St. Andrew's Church, and on the following day and in the same church, the "fifteenth sederunt" of the General Assembly, according to the continuing Presbyterian Church, was held. Thus was effected the union of churches; thus, the division of souls. The year 1925 is, in the religious life of Canada, a new "Anno Domini." But for one group it marks time since "union"; for the other it designates the years since "disruption." The exact terminology is important, since the minority claims that the Presbyterian Church in Canada never went into Union, but the unionists went out from her to form a new denomination; the majority insists that the Presbyterian Church in Canada went into Union; that the non-concurrents created whatever "disruption" there was; that the continuing church, under the terms of the legislation, may call itself a Presbyterian church but not the "Presbyterian Church in Canada." This, in a nutshell, remains *the* issue at the time of the writing of this report.

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[11] See Appendix D.

It is comparatively simple to describe the course of the opposition, but it is immeasurably more difficult to appraise the psychology of the anti-unionists and to analyze their dynamic attitudes. It is impossible, however, in any adequate study of the movement to shirk this responsibility.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NON-CONCURRING PRESBYTERIANS

The editor of one of the outstanding religious journals of the United States visited Canada in 1928 to study the measure of success attained by the United Church. He stated that he did not intend to study the United Church with "the sociologist's fallacy—that of standing on the outside of a human event, coolly analyzing it into its factors and thereby reaching a conclusion that the event was a 'mistake,' or that it was 'premature' or what not. . . . Our question is, What does Christ think about it? How does it look when seen through his eyes?" and his conclusion was that "Christ looks upon the anti-union Presbyterians with the same eyes through which he looked on Simon Peter when the cock crew."

It is difficult enough to analyze the motives of the anti-union Presbyterians by sociological methods without attempting to apply Christological tests. Fortunately for those entrusted with this report, they are called upon primarily to furnish the facts so far as they are ascertainable, and to let the facts speak for themselves. To secure the facts, attention must be paid to the official literature issued by the Presbyterian Church Association, the formal dissents expressed by the non-concurrents at various meetings of the General Assembly, books and pamphlets issued by various leaders of non-concurrents, letters and articles in the religious and secular press of the time, newspaper and verbatim reports of addresses given during the controversy, and data furnished in personal interviews. In addition to all this, a general familiarity with existing conditions in Canadian communities and with the prevailing trends of Canadian history is essential.

In presenting these facts it is recognized that not all the non-concurrents thought alike. Thus, in one of the pamphlets issued by the Presbyterian Church Association in 1923, we read:

> "There are those in the membership of the Association favorable to organic union, but utterly opposed to the coercive methods used in bringing about the present union.
>
> "There are those opposed to organic union, believing that the strength of Protestantism lies in diversity of organization.
>
> "Some in the Association believe the Church has no power to exchange the Confession of Faith for the doctrinal compromise found in the 'Basis of Union.'
>
> "Others in the Association feel that the disruption of our church is too high a price to pay for a so-called union with other churches."

Such a statement in itself requires the student to recognize that different people were led to join hands in a common effort for quite different reasons.

Again, many of the arguments used by the various protagonists at the height of the controversy reveal the instincts of the electioneer rather than those of the philosopher, and statements were freely uttered and not repudiated by the leaders which were more designed to secure votes than to state facts.

General Background

Before considering the various arguments put forward by the non-concurrents, five fundamental factors in the general background must be taken into account which are essential to the understanding of the "psychology" of the movement, and highly instructive in any study of group-relationships.

1. A SUPERIORITY COMPLEX: First, the Scottish people have made an extraordinary contribution to the development of Canadian life. They have provided more than their share of statesmen and bank presidents, professional and business men. They constituted a very important element in the population in the Maritime provinces, and they were the first permanent settlers in the great Northwest. The achievement of the Scots in Canada is an epic or a romance. They struggled with poverty and attained affluence and distinction, and they were so properly proud of their accomplishments that they sometimes seemed to forget that the Sassenachs had also been useful citizens. Thus, the author of *The Romance of the C. P. R.* and *Policing the Plains* and many other books dealing with the development of Canada never fails, in telling the tales of the men who made Canada, to state explicitly the shire in Scotland whence the Highland laddie came, but usually forgets to mention that the Sassenachs were born at all.

There was, in short, a Scottish superiority complex, and a thorough analysis of this phenomenon would involve extended references to the history and geography of Scotland, its climate, its relations and final union with England, the economic life of Scotland before and since the union, the progress of Scottish schools and universities, the characteristics of the first Scottish settlers in Canada and the qualities which brought them the large measure of success obtained.

Not all Scottish Canadians were Presbyterians—there were large groups of Scottish Catholics, Scottish Baptists and Scottish Methodists. Nor were all Presbyterians of Scottish descent—some were Irish although they came from Ulster and cherished the Scottish tradition, and intermarriage and the wanderings of the people had caused many who had little Scottish blood in their veins to affiliate themselves with the local Presbyterian churches.[12] Table X reveals the ratio in the various provinces between the people of Scottish and Irish descent and the Presbyterian constituency.

TABLE X—NUMBER OF PRESBYTERIANS, COMPARED WITH POPULATION OF SCOTTISH AND IRISH DESCENT, CENSUS OF 1921

Province	Total Number in Population Presbyterians	Scottish Descent	Irish Descent
Prince Edward Island	25,945	33,437	18,743
Nova Scotia	109,860	148,000	55,712
New Brunswick	41,277	51,308	68,670
Quebec	73,748	63,915	94,947
Ontario	613,532	465,400	590,493
Manitoba	138,201	105,034	71,414
Saskatchewan	162,165	104,678	84,786
Alberta	120,991	96,062	68,246
British Columbia	123,022	104,955	54,298
Yukon	579	662	369
N. W. Territories	45	130	106
Miscellaneous	42	56	33
Total for Canada	1,409,407	1,173,637	1,107,817

By and large, however, Canadian Presbyterianism was essentially Scottish in its origin, its traditions and its loyalties, and the Scottish superiority complex easily became with some a Presbyterian superiority complex. The Presbyterians, with the Anglicans, considered themselves in most communities to be "the social leaders," although in Toronto—which was an exception to the rule—the wealthiest families were Methodist. In a comparatively new country, especially in one where all British traditions, aristocratic and otherwise, are cherished, the peculiar rôle of "social position" cannot be ignored. Some part of the opposition was undoubtedly due to "class consciousness."

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[12] Marriage statistics in Ontario prior to 1925 indicate that in general only about 55 per cent. of all Presbyterians married Presbyterians and about 65 per cent. of Methodists married Methodists.

2. The "Wee Free" Decision: A second fundamental fact was the influence of the decision of the House of Lords in the famous case of "Lord Overtoun versus the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland," in 1904.

It will be recalled that in Canada the Free Churches (Presbyterian) and those connected with the secessionist synods (United Presbyterian) came together to form the Canada Presbyterian Church in 1867, the year of Canadian Confederation; but in Scotland, the union of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church was not effected until October 31, 1900.

In the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 643 votes favored this union and 27 votes were cast against it. A small minority of the Free Church, consisting of some twenty-four ministers and approximately one hundred congregations, and afterwards generally known as the "Wee Frees," refused to enter this union, but, as Dr. Ogilvie says: "Their strength was greater than the numbers would suggest, for they represented the dominant attitude of the whole highlands of Scotland."[13]

This minority held that the decision of their General Assembly was unconstitutional and against the fundamental principles of the church; that they alone were the true spiritual successors of the Free Church and consequently sole inheritors to the church's name and property. They, therefore, instituted legal proceedings in the Scottish courts to secure possession of all the properties. This claim was disallowed by the Scottish Court of Sessions in 1902, but the Wee Frees appealed to the House of Lords in the famous case of Lord Overtoun versus The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1904. Here, the decision of the Scottish court was reversed, and it was decided that the principle of the Establishment and the Westminster Faith were distinctive tenets of the Free Church and hence where property was involved the church had no power to change its original doctrines. The conveyance of such property, therefore, to the newly formed United Free Church was deemed a breach of trust.

Two of their Lordships dissented from the majority decision—Lord MacNaghten holding that the Free Church had the power of altering and amending its confession of faith and that there was no breach of trust, and Lord Lindley maintaining that any interpretation of the subordinate standards of the church *bona fide* adopted by the General Assembly of the

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[13] *The Presbyterian Churches of Christendom* (London: A. & C. Black, 1925).

Free Church and held by them better to express the doctrines intended to be expressed by the language used in the confession was within the power of the Free Church. But the majority held to the contrary, that the identity of a religious community described as a church consists in the identity of its doctrines, creeds, confessions, formularies, and tests, and while the bond of union in such a church may contain a power in some recognized body to control, alter or modify the tenets or principles at one time professed by the community, the existence of such a power must be proved.

As a result of this decision, the "Wee Frees" entered into possession of all the property which they were too numerically weak to administer, while those who had cast in their lot with the newly formed United Free Church marched out into the cold. Such an unhappy outcome could only be remedied by Parliament, and in 1905 the Imperial Parliament passed legislation enabling a distribution of the property on a basis of need and usability.

This Scottish controversy was at its height at the very time when the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Canada had initiated their movement for union, and the decision threw fear into the hearts of the unionists, lest the Canadian negotiations might culminate in a similar denouement. Indeed, the official report of the first conference of the three union committees was published in the very year, 1905, when the Imperial Act was passed.

The Scottish situation, therefore, did much to complicate the problem in Canada, where the Presbyterian leaders had no intention of negotiating a union largely necessitated by the economic difficulties in providing the Dominion with evangelical churches, if it were to mean only the loss of their property and the consequent necessity of a vaster outlay of funds than ever. On the other hand, the decision in the Overtoun case strengthened the hands of those opposed to Union. They believed that, in the light of this precedent, the legal difficulties in the way of church union would prove insurmountable, and that however the unionists might seem to triumph those opposed would in the end have them "on the hip." The Imperial Act which provided the remedial legislation in this case was only passed because Parliament believed the "Wee Free" minority to be incompetent to handle the whole of the vast property. If those opposed to Union in Canada could only show Parliament a minority sufficiently strong and competent to handle the trusts, there might be a different story.

3. ANTIPATHY TO METHODISTS: A third factor, however delicate it may be to appraise, was a degree of antipathy felt by many Presbyterians towards Methodism and Methodists, and to omit this aspect of the problem in any history of the church union movement in Canada would be equivalent to playing "Hamlet" with the Prince of Denmark absent. The official docu-

ments do not always, to be sure, stress these felt temperamental differences, but they were potent forces for all that. A visiting Presbyterian minister from overseas, discussing the Canadian situation with one of the leaders of the non-concurring group, stated that in his opinion the whole issue was at bottom one of temperamental incompatibility, to which the non-concurrent immediately replied: "It is, but we cannot say that." This antipathy may be traced in part to the old doctrinal arguments between Calvinism and Arminianism, and in part may be a hangover from the pioneer days when the American affiliation of Canadian Methodism caused some criticism. In general, however, the difficulties felt by many Presbyterians were not with the Methodism of fifty or seventy-five years ago, but with contemporaneous Methodism, and the major points of friction were clear enough.

(a) In the first place, both Scottish and Irish Presbyterians have a reputation for the solemnity of their services of worship, and while both of these groups are capable of deep emotion, the struggle with the soil and possibly the northern and somewhat severe climate of Scotland have developed in them a certain sternness of character which ever sought to keep their emotions well leashed. Methodism, on the other hand, cultivated the expression of the emotions, and the God of Methodism was less the Sovereign Ruler with his inscrutable decrees than a loving Redeemer with whom it was not improper to be on intimate terms.

Thus, an outstanding characteristic of Presbyterian worship was the singing of the psalms and paraphrases, while in the earlier days, at least, Methodists used the more popular sacred songs and plied the methods of mass revivalism. Of course, at the beginning of the twentieth century, these characteristics of Methodist revivalism were fast disappearing and in many of the city churches its services of worship were hardly distinguishable from those of the Presbyterians. In the same way, in many Presbyterian churches, the Gospel song and all that went with it were freely used, but in the main the difference in emphasis remained. The Presbyterian minister wore the gown and bands, and he seldom indulged in any frivolous witticisms in the pulpit. Methodist ministers, on the other hand, were less austere, if not sometimes more human, and often essayed more sensational methods. A good many Presbyterians doubted the possibility of effecting a real fusion of such diverse inherited attitudes. Would they not, they said, tend to dampen Methodist ardor, while the Methodists would get on their nerves?

(b) Again, while the issue of Calvin versus Arminius was practically dead, there remained among Presbyterians a greater tendency to insist on what they conceived to be "soundness of doctrine." Within Methodism the fiery gospel which accompanied the camp meetings had gradually been superseded by a "social gospel" which largely grew out of the uncompromising attitude of Methodists towards the liquor traffic. This social gospel, however, came in for some hard knocks in Canada, as elsewhere, immediately after the War, and that emphasis was in turn replaced, especially in Methodist circles, by one on religious education largely borrowed from the United States and, to many Presbyterian leaders, unduly tainted with the ideas and concepts of the behavioristic psychology. Literature published with the imprint of the Methodist Church at the very time when the discussion was raging led many Presbyterians to feel that, in exchanging their historic doctrinal position for a social gospel and a semi-behavioristic scheme of religious education, the Methodists had, perhaps unconsciously, thrown out the baby with the bath, and no longer had a definite, coherent philosophy to offer to the world.

This tendency especially aroused the fundamentalist section of the Presbyterians, and some of the literature issued by this element, however sincere, was all but scurrilous. In an open letter to the members and adherents of one of the Presbyterian churches in Toronto, one of these groups concluded: "The Methodist Church is an Apostate Church. . . . The Methodist Church of today has no longer any message for a sin-burdened world."

It should be said that many of the non-concurrents were not sympathetic either with fundamentalism or with the temper of this document; but the fight was on, and the fundamentalists gave their distinctive coloration to one of the wings of the attacking host. At this point, it must also be remembered that during and immediately after the War certain Methodist leaders were most active in avowing programs of social reconstruction patterned on the platform of the British Labor party, and in encouraging schemes of social and industrial democracy which a good many people—especially those who had something to lose—regarded as unsound and unrealistic. The latter may not have been much interested in aiding fundamentalism, but to them anything that sounded like "Bolshevism" was unsound and anathema.

(c) In the third place, however much the Presbyterians may have nursed their own aristocratic tendencies, and assumed an attitude of superiority towards the unpredestinate, they did adhere most emphatically to the methods of democracy in the church, and while they reverenced the ministry they had a deep suspicion of anything that looked like a hierarchy. To them the Methodist Church was, despite the large measure of forceful lay leadership, essentially a hierarchy. The Methodist ministers were submitted to a very rigorous discipline, but the acceptance of the demands of such a discipline brought with it prerogatives and securities which were almost hierarchic. Not even the inclusion in the Basis of Union of the provision that the settlement committee should always approve the call of a congregation to a given man, if it were at all possible to do so, could remove this fear of undue control by the ecclesiastical machine.

(d) Moreover, the Methodist Church had a long record for aggressiveness. The early itinerant ministers went everywhere and established churches whether other denominations were already on the spot or not, and even if the settlement was for the most part one of Scottish Presbyterians. They went to these places under the compulsion of the gospel they professed, the firm assurance that "the world was their parish" and in obedience to the centralized system that sent them forth. In many instances these new congregations could only be maintained by the constant utilization of new methods calculated to win proselytes, especially young people. Thus, some Presbyterians believed—rightly or wrongly—that when there was some dissension in a local Presbyterian church, usually over the minister, and it was difficult to secure a change of ministers in the interests of parochial harmony, the stationing committee of the Methodist Church, aware of the local situation, would hopefully send in an unusually strong man who might take advantage of the situation to win over the disaffected Presbyterians. Whether this was ever done or not is another matter, but the Methodist system facilitated the carrying out of such a policy, and there were Presbyterians who believed that it was done. The director of this study must also mention in this connection that men most prominent in the Anglican Church voice the same suspicion of Methodist practices. It may be nothing but a "stereotype of prejudice," but its existence makes it a factor of some significance.

(e) More important still, the Presbyterians—or at least some of them—believed that the Methodists, despite their insistence on social ethics, did not adhere to as high standards of personal morality, especially in fiduciary matters, as the Presbyterians. As there is a legend in the Orient that a Chinese is more honest than a Japanese, so in certain circles in Canada it was hinted that it was less necessary to "bond" a Presbyterian than a Methodist. A prominent lawyer in one of the large Canadian cities, who was neither of Scottish descent nor of Presbyterian upbringing, told the director of this study in all seriousness that he had left his own church and joined the Presbyterians for, he believed, they stood for the qualities of character which he respected and which, he felt, the country needed. Ardent leaders in the United Church, formerly Presbyterians, said that they had spent long hours trying to explain this cliché of thought. Some thought that it was due to the consequences of the historic footnote in the Discipline of the Methodist Church, paragraph 35:

"Note: The General Rules are to be understood as forbidding neglect of duties of any kind, imprudent conduct, indulging in sinful tempers or words, the buying, selling or using intoxicating liquors as a beverage, dancing, playing at games of chance, encouraging lotteries, attending theatres, horse-races, circuses, dancing-parties, patronizing dancing-schools, taking such other amusements as are obviously of a misleading or questionable moral tendency, and all acts of disobedience to the Order and Discipline of the Church."

This footnote was removed only in 1910, and after a prolonged argument, but outside the Methodist Church the tradition remained, and the footnote was criticized on two counts, first as an unnecessary interference with the rights of conscience and private judgment, and secondly, as conducive to hypocrisy. Others thought that perhaps the rumor arose in the fact that while Presbyterianism led to a certain reserve in the discussion of matters of personal religion, the Methodist system, through its class-meetings, encouraged such self-expression even at the perpetual risk that profession might outrun practice. A further element in the situation was the persistent allegation that not a few of the foremost financiers, prominently identified with the Methodist Church, were not above suspicion in their business practices, although at the same time it was freely conceded that many of the wealthy Methodists were most honorable, most public-spirited and most munificent in their public benefactions.[14] However unreal or unwarranted such allegations may have been, their existence was so generally recognized that they became an integral, if inarticulate, part of the opposition to church union. Some were so afraid of the "slipperiness"—as they called it—of the "domned Methodists"—as they called them—that they were sure that they would get the worst of it even in a "church union deal."

Here is a realm of concepts which the champions of church union too often ignore, but which belongs to the store of data that the social psychologist must consider as of first importance. The best scheme of church union ever proposed may be wrecked on suspicions more or less unwarranted unless definite techniques for dealing with such suspicions are developed and applied.

(f) In the sixth place one hears continually on the lips of the non-concurring Presbyterians these words: "Our church is not a sect." Here we have essentially the influence in Canadian Presbyterianism of the Church of Scotland, which emerged as a church of the nation and not simply of a certain group within the nation. Of course in Canada there was no state church, but the Anglicans and the Presbyterians had for reasons more or less obvious inherited a predisposition to regard themselves as, temperamentally if not legally, national churches. Congregationalism was too small and too much influenced by the persistent opposition of English Congregationalism to the state church, to share such an attitude, although Canadian Congregationalists who had been trained or had their roots in New England, where their church had long been the "standing order," felt much the same attitude towards "sects," whatever "sects" are, as the Anglicans and the Presbyterians. Students of Troeltsch's *Soziallehre* will find an examination of such attitudes rewarding.

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[14] Certain Methodists were inclined to think that behind this attack on the business methods of successful Methodist financiers was a certain amount of social snobbery, and jealousy that Methodists had acquired the prestige that comes with wealth.

Such attitudes as those outlined above may seem ungenerous and hence to be passed over in silence by the ecclesiastical diplomat, but the social psychologist and the unbiassed historian must mention them for what they are worth, and the churches must find the ways and means of dealing with them in a fruitful way. Time and again, these attitudes were mentioned in the course of the study, always accompanied with the rider: "Of course these were the psychological factors, but how can you mention them?"

4. POLITICAL DOMINATION: A fourth general factor to remember is that the "one big church idea" was feared by two groups in Canada. The Roman Catholics in the Province of Quebec, where there was but one big church and where that church dominated the political situation in various ways, feared that the church-union movement was an effort to create a solidified Protestant church to weaken the power of the Roman church, and when the time came to secure legislation, the Roman Catholic members of Parliament were, for the most part, on the side of the Presbyterian minority. In the Protestant section of the country, on the other hand, many feared the political dictation which might be indulged in by "one big church." The argument was used even with Orangemen who, ordinarily, would have sung the Nunc Dimittis had they seen a real Protestant alliance against Rome; but they were told that the proposed United Church might easily prove as dangerous as "the Pope" himself.

The basis for this fear seems to have been the "social reform" activities of the Methodist Church, including its teetotalism and insistence on prohibition, the social radicalism characteristic of some of its leaders, its admitted efficiency in bringing pressure on politicians who so often act only under high pressure. If the Methodist Church could bring so much influence to bear in matters politic, what manipulations might not be possible with a church twice the size of their own as a constituency? In an unfortunate and uninspired moment, the General Superintendent of the Methodist Church referred to the prospective United Church of Canada as an agency for "religio-political" action, and the phrase was seized upon, twisted out of its context and broadcasted where it would do most harm.[15] Many men who were not at all impressed by doctrinal considerations and many political leaders who wanted to supplant wartime prohibition as quickly as possible with government control were ready to express their sympathy with non-concurrents, and when nominally if not actively Presbyterians, even to ally themselves with the minority and to show a new interest in matters ecclesiastical. From this it must not be assumed that the non-concurrents were a "wet" crowd. Many of their leaders had been foremost in the fight for prohibition in their various provinces, but "wet" elements flocked to support the ark of Presbyterianism, and their promised support was not rejected.

5. THE POSITION OF PRESBYTERIANISM: A fifth general factor in the situation was the prevailing condition within the Presbyterian Church in Canada at the time the union movement was launched. Prior to 1901 the decennial religious census of the Dominion had always indicated the Methodists as the largest numerical Protestant group in the country. Presbyterians came next and Anglicans third. Between 1901 and 1911 Presbyterianism moved into first place; Anglicanism into second and Methodism took third place. In part this change may be accounted for by Scottish and English immigration, and the inevitable tendency of the Englishman without any particular ecclesiastical preference to inscribe himself as "C. of E."

But Presbyterian growth must be traced to other factors. While the intellectuality of its ministry may have been exaggerated by many, it did have in its pulpits men who were generally acknowledged as being as able as any ministers in the country, if not abler; its temper was at once liberal and conservative; in city after city, the "best people"—socially speaking—belonged; it was a Dominion-wide church with a General Assembly that gathered from every part of the country for deliberation each year; ministers passed freely and easily from the Maritime provinces to British Columbia; it was democratically organized; despite the presence in its ranks of ardent Ulster men who had no use for the Pope, it found points of friendly contact with the important group of Scottish Catholics in the

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[15] The following is the excerpt from the address of Dr. Chown in 1922: "Then let me say it was never so apparent in Canada as it is today that if Protestantism cannot unite to speak with one voice, the future is not only dark—it is dismal, distracting and distressing. One does not like to stir up religious controversy, and I will not trade with religious bigotry, but if I may venture to prophesy, I would say with all conviction that if the major churches of Protestantism cannot unite, the battle which is going on now so definitely for the religious control of our country will be lost within the next few years. I do not refer to the school question alone, but to the whole movement within Canada in the religio-political realm. I can only wonder at the short-sightedness which makes of denominational prejudices or preferences a barrier to church union. It is because of these convictions that I have not wearied in hope and prayer and work for this long-delayed church union. But we cannot wait indefinitely."

Maritimes; it was proud of its achievement as a church and highly self-conscious, and, as Dr. Drummond said of it in his address before the Port Arthur Assembly, "when that instrument has been created and is a fine working organization . . . it is no light matter to tamper with that organization." What is more, with wings thus outspread, a good many Presbyterians preferred, not to negotiate terms of union, but to fly.

The Rationale of the Opposition

The opposition to church union in Presbyterian circles may have had its "irrationale" but it also had its rationale. Certain of the arguments used were directed against the Union itself, while others were directed against the procedure which had been followed in the search for union.

Among the arguments used against the Union itself were the argument from nature, the argument from Scripture, the argument from history and the arguments in law. Did not nature itself indicate that a high stage of culture necessitated the differentiation of the species? Why, then, should we seek in an ecclesiastical organization to return to the "indefinite, incoherent homogeneity" of Herbert Spencer? Again, did not history teach us that all efforts to control conscience and all monopolies in the things of the spirit, such as had characterized the emergence of Roman Catholicism and the rise of national churches, had militated against genuine spiritual life? Would the one big church in Canada prove an exception to the rule? Further, while the Scripture did urge the spiritual unity of all believers, it contained no argument for organic unity. Much ingenuity was devoted to providing an exegesis of the intercessory prayer in the Gospel in a manner unfavorable to organic union. Some insisted that the Scriptural idea of unity stressed not the one flock but the one Shepherd; one shepherd might have many flocks; or one flock might be divided into many folds. The real unity of Christendom to be sought after was one that provided "diversities of gifts, but the same spirit."

The most important arguments, however, were based on law, both civil and canon, and while variously expressed, these arguments took three major forms. The first, based on the decision in the Overtoun Case, stressed the sanctity of trusts and the unwillingness of the courts to permit the merging of trust funds held by a church with a clearly defined doctrine and polity in any united church with a fundamentally different doctrine and polity, so long as there was any minority ready and eager to continue under former conditions and averse to the merger.

In the second place, the Presbyterian Church in Canada had never been incorporated; it was a voluntary association without legal entity and hence could neither sue nor be sued. Under these circumstances the non-concurrents argued that Parliament could not legislate for the Presbyterian Church in Canada nor impinge on its spiritual authority to manage its own affairs; that Parliament could not declare that the Presbyterian Church in Canada was merged in any other organization; on the contrary, no matter who might sever their membership and enter the United Church, those who remained and adhered to the old standards, constituted the Presbyterian Church in Canada. This argument was presented very baldly in a statement by the Rev. Ephraim Scott:

> "No proportion of the membership of the Presbyterian Church in Canada can blot out that Church or place it in the United Church. Members of a pledged total abstinence society may withdraw from it and join a society which has no such pledge, but they cannot place the one society within the other. The pledged total abstinence society will be as before—the fellowship of those who remain true to its principles."

The fact that the Presbyterian Church in Canada, while not itself incorporated, had nevertheless created a large number of subordinate corporations by means of which it held property, seriously modified the logic of this argument—at all events to the extent of giving Parliament the undoubted right to legislate in regard to the temporalities of the church.

In the third place, the opponents of Union pointed out that while there might be provisions in the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in Canada which permitted the modification of its constitution, that constitution provided no method whatever for terminating its own existence so long as any remained who wished to carry it on. If this interpretation of canon law is correct, then one may only quote the words of Ernest Barker, Professor of Political Science in Cambridge University, in a recent article on "Spiritual Authority in England," when he says of the constitution of the Free Church of Scotland, formed in 1843:

> "The moral of the whole issue is that a church (or for that matter, any association) which ties up its future under unalterable fundamentals, places itself legally at the mercy of a minority even of one."[16]

Naturally the unionists denied these implied limitations of the authority of their own higher courts and also of the right of Parliament as authoritative in matters temporal to grant any petitions, not inconsistent with public interest, which the Presbyterian Church in Canada might officially present in respect to its own inner constitution.

There were of course other and secondary arguments brought forward to show that in minor respects the Basis of Union did indicate important divergences both in doctrine and in church government from the accepted

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[16] In the *University of Toronto Monthly,* October 1931.

Presbyterian principles. These were listed in considerable detail in a writ and statement of claim, which a number of the non-concurrent leaders filed in the Supreme Court of Ontario against the unionist members of the committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, in seeking the enabling legislation. On this point, however, there seemed to be no great desire on the part of the plaintiffs in the case to press the logic of these arguments to its inevitable conclusion, that all loyal Presbyterians must continue to assert that unbaptized children have a rather uncertain future and that the Pope is the Man of Sin.

Other arguments stressed faulty procedure in the negotiations for Union and alleged efforts to throttle discussion and to coerce all those who did not concur with a majority into an acceptance of Union. It was pointed out that the movement for Union had been launched by Principal Patrick in his address as fraternal delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Church in 1902 although nobody had authorized him to make such overtures; that the negotiations had been carried on for years before the people had ever been called upon to intimate whether they wanted Union or not, and hence the movement had been engineered from above and was not a spontaneous desire of the rank and file of the church. In further support of this contention it was alleged that the General Assembly, in sending the "Basis" down to presbyteries under the Barrier Act, and to the sessions and congregations in a general plebiscite, had prejudiced the vote by its own previous approval of the "Basis"; that the General Assembly had intimated that the Union would not be consummated unless there was general unanimity concerning it; that despite this "promise," when the second plebiscite was taken and revealed the growth of a popular feeling against Union, the Assembly refused to halt proceedings and had committed the church to Union, thus coercing the minority; that, in spite of the large number of opponents of Union in the congregations, courts of the church—such as the presbyteries and the General Assembly—continued to pile up large majorities in favor of Union, which really did not represent the popular feeling.

The charge was also made that, when the church had once committed itself to Union, the leaders brought pressure on wavering individual ministers by use of the *argumentum ad hominem:* "Our church is undoubtedly going into Union and only a small minority, if any, will stay out: What will there be in such a church for you?" Efforts also were made, it was said, to push to one side from all important offices those men who were irrevocably opposed to Union and to offer preferments to unionist supporters; while in the plans devised by the church for coöperation with the Methodists, the home missionary superintendents brought economic pressure to bear on small Presbyterian churches to force them into local amalgamations with the Methodists, on the threat that: "if you do not amalgamate, you won't get any grant from the home-mission funds." Finally, it was asserted that the Unionists proposed, in the legislation that they sought in Dominion and Provincial Parliaments, to force the non-concurring minority into the United Church against their will and then give them the option of voting "out" if they wanted to; and that in general the temporal power was being used to despoil the true Presbyterians of the right to their old name, to continued existence in many communities and to the greater part of their congregational and denominational property.

Whenever the various arguments were formally expressed in dissents on the floor of the General Assembly they were formally answered. Perhaps the most important of these answers relates to the alleged promise of unanimity. On this the Assembly said:

> "No official pledges made by the Assembly have been disregarded. The clause 'that a union of the churches, to be real and lasting, must carry the consent of the entire membership' is taken from a series of comments at the end of the Union Committee's Report in 1905. It is not embodied in any resolution and no fair reading of the context can make it a pledge to the people of the Church."

In respect to the coercion applied by the courts of the church, which showed a growing majority in favor of Union in the face of a growing popular minority against Union, it may perhaps be said that this is inevitable in any system that prides itself upon the representative character of its government. It would be a strange type of representativeness if any minority widely-scattered throughout the church, however strong, should succeed in blocking the expressed wishes of an evenly distributed majority throughout the entire organization.

In respect to the coercion (if the bringing of economic pressure may be called coercion) applied by home missionary superintendents to small Presbyterian missions and augmented churches, there are undoubted evidences that such a coercion was attempted, and successfully attempted, and in some cases did create local trouble. On the other hand, the home missionary superintendents were under no obligation to give the church's charity to penurious congregations that were unwilling to carry out the expressed desires of the church in its efforts to avoid unnecessary overlapping.

It is possibly true that their anti-unionism may have prevented some men from being elected to important church positions. On the other hand, the evidence is quite clear that men were retained in high positions of administrative control, in spite of their opposition to Union, and in spite of some demands for a general house-cleaning. The chairman of the general board and the chairmen of other important boards were known to be anti-unionists. After the General Assembly had definitely committed the church to Union, it retained on its Church Union Committee, charged with the responsibility of carrying out the wishes of the Assembly, a number of individuals who had taken an unwavering stand to maintain the Presbyterian Church in Canada at all costs. Such a course may have been justified on grounds of diplomacy or magnanimity, but it does not seem to be justified by any principles of sound administration. It created doubt in the minds of the leaders of the other two negotiating churches as to the whole-heartedness of the Presbyterian majority. Further, it retarded action by the church boards, where each group felt that it was being watched, and hence hesitated to lay its cards on the table. This discipline of "watchful waiting" may have cultivated a skill in conference which the Presbyterian unionists later carried with them into the United Church, but it also encouraged reticence, and, to say the least, a certain degree of inscrutability.

An outstanding example of the effect of this policy may be seen in the retention of Dr. Ephraim Scott as editor of *The Presbyterian Record,* the only official organ of the church. Dr. Scott was the most uncompromising of all the opponents of Union. Nevertheless, in spite of some agitation to replace him with an editor more ready to advance the policy which the church had formally approved—or at least not to hinder it—he was retained and given a free hand which he used to damage the unionist cause until a few days before the consummation of Union, when he was relieved of his duties, only to become the first Moderator of the continuing Presbyterian Church. On being relieved of his duties, Dr. Scott refused to hand over the subscription lists or any equipment of *The Presbyterian Record,* but the United Church refrained from taking any legal action against him.

The degree of coercion implied in the effort to secure enabling legislation must be inferred in the special treatment of the phases of law in chapter ix.

Needless to say, the various arguments propounded, together with the emotions felt by the various groups within the church, registered in different ways with different people. But there were still other factors which played a very important rôle in deciding the issues of the final vote, and these were local difficulties. In some cases the local minister was unpopular, and if he declared himself one way or the other it provided members of the congregation with a good excuse for voting to the contrary, for in this way they could easily rid themselves of a leader to whom they were not over-devoted. In other instances, a minister, popular enough, became unwise and at times truculent in his attitude towards those who were opposed to Union, and there are frequent instances of churches which were all but wrecked by the manner and method of the minister.

In periods of such excitement, moreover, an opportunity is provided for local factions to find a fresh bone of contention. Before the Union controversy reached its zenith, for example, one small country church had been badly divided by an argument over the most appropriate memorial to be erected by the church in memory of the men who served in the Great War. One group insisted on a central monument in front of the church; the other group wished to put up memorial tablets to individual men on the walls of the church. Bad feeling developed in the course of the argument, and of course one side had to win. When this controversy was barely over, the congregation had to decide whether it should enter or not enter the United Church. One faction espoused one cause and this was the signal for the other faction to espouse the opposite. In this particular instance, those who were opposed to Union proved victorious and the United Church group went out and built a new church.

In other communities there are unmistakable evidences that the split was influenced by political considerations. In one Nova Scotia church, every Conservative in the membership voted one way and every Liberal the other. It is quite clear that in situations of this character, church union was not *the* issue but simply an occasion of dispute, nor can the human factor be lightly ignored in all such controversies. In spite of theories regarding predestination, justification, sanctification and regeneration, the old Adam must still be subdued.

So the opposition to Union in Presbyterian circles drew to its banners, as might be expected, heterogeneous elements, including some of the best and some of the worst. There were those whose devotion to the church of their fathers was deep and sincere, and when the decision had to be made, they voted to "stay by the stuff," and there were those who would have gone with the majority in the local church, however it voted, but who had no desire to break their connection with the particular church which had become dear to them. On the other hand, among the camp-followers of the anti-unionists (as for that matter, among those of the unionists) were some who had personal grudges to settle—"a pious grievance" and sometimes a grievance that was not pious. There gathered saints and Adullamites, modernists and fundamentalists, wets and drys, as the skirling of the pipes sounded, if not over the braes of Mar, at least in the hearts of men.

CHAPTER VIII

Transitional Steps in Coöperation

It is quite obvious that among the dominant reasons for church union in Canada were the recognized evils of overlapping in small communities in a country so large and thinly populated. Long before the opening of the Northwest began to tax the imagination and resources of the various denominations, efforts had been made—but without much success—to avoid the overchurching of small hamlets in the East. When, however, the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 and the new immigration policies of the Canadian government in the late 'nineties began to draw settlers to the prairies by the tens of thousands each year, and to create hundreds of new communities almost overnight, procrastination in dealing with this problem became no longer possible.

EARLY STAGES

In 1899 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church instructed its Committee on Church Union to consider the whole matter of coöperation with the Methodist Church. Following the next meeting of the General Conference of the Methodist Church, in 1902, a joint committee of the two churches held two meetings, November 6, 1902, and February 3, 1903. After protracted discussion, a third meeting was held at which all the missionary superintendents of the two denominations were present. The practical difficulties in the way of coöperation were frankly faced and freely aired, but at least four resolutions were passed. The first ordered that a letter be sent to all superintendents of missions and to all ministers of missionaries in charge of home-mission fields, stating "the expectation that they will coöperate in all practical ways" to avoid the unnecessary competition in the territory assigned to them. The second resolution urged the superintendents of both churches to keep the principle of comity and coöperation "steadily in view" and when in charge of much the same territory to meet together occasionally for consultation "respecting the opening of new fields or the possible readjustment of fields already occupied." The third resolution laid down a definite principle:

> "Where a field has been occupied for at least one year by one of the churches, the superintendents are recommended to act as far as possible on the principle of non-intrusion."

The fourth resolution suggested that ministers and missionaries of both churches, whose missions covered the same territory consult together regarding the possible readjustment of their fields and that subsequently they "report their views to their respective superintendents, district meetings and presbyteries."

It will thus be seen that this movement for coöperation was launched contemporaneously with that seeking organic union. The General Conference of the Methodist Church had made its gesture for union in September 1902. The committees representing the Presbyterian and Methodist churches had, as stated above, met to consider coöperation in the latter part of 1902 and the early part of 1903. The first meetings of the Joint Committee on Church Union took place in 1904. Hence the two movements were inextricably linked together until 1925, when the union of the three churches was finally consummated.

It is impossible to discover at this time just how effective these resolutions of 1903 were in remedying the evils of overlapping. Opinion on this point expressed in various interviews differ, but there seems to be no reason to doubt that the advice tendered by the Joint Committee on Coöperation was not infrequently followed, especially in British Columbia and Alberta. Missionary superintendents did consult together, and various readjustments were made in fields where it was difficult for both churches to render an effective but competitive service. In general, it was the period of personal conversations rather than of signed agreements. One might perhaps say that such consultations took place where coöperation was imperatively necessary. Beyond suggesting the principle of non-intrusion, however, where a field had been occupied by one of the denominations for at least a year, no definite standards for comity were recognized until 1911.

In this first period, 1903-1911, another phenomenon in coöperation appeared of the utmost significance, and even more intimately related to the church-union movement. In chapter iv, attention has already been directed to the existence in Canada, even in 1901, of no less than 267 union churches. These churches were for the most part community societies which held property in their own name but obtained the services of whatever ministers they could. In some cases, various denominations provided religious services in rotation. When the completed draft of the proposed Basis of Union was issued in 1908, and before the denominations had formally acted upon it, *a new type of union church sprang into existence, the distinctive characteristic of which was its acceptance, so far as it was applicable to the local church, of the proposed Basis of Union.* The first of these churches to be so organized were at Melville, Saskatchewan, in November, 1908, and at Frobisher, Saskatchewan, in January, 1909. The West thus took Church Union by the forelock "without tarrying for any." The first of these churches was organized by a Presbyterian minister; the second by a Congregational minister. Both denominations permitted these ministers to work out the experiments. By 1911 other churches of a similar character had been organized in Saskatchewan at Kerrobert and Conquest, while plans for similar churches were being made at Ceylon and Lemberg in the same province. The movement was viewed with some suspicion by the missionary authorities in the negotiating churches, but it undoubtedly forced the hands of those who might have been satisfied with a minimum amount of coöperation.

The Second Period

In 1911 the second period in formal coöperation began with the issuing by a joint committee of the three negotiating denominations of a more elaborate scheme of avoiding overlapping. Three years earlier, in March, 1908, the Home Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada had recommended to the General Assembly that it appoint a committee to act with similar committees of other churches in the Dominion for the purpose of considering coöperation in home-mission work, and when the General Assembly had given its approval, communications inviting such conferences were sent to the proper authorities not only of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches, but also of the Anglican and Baptist churches. The Congregational Union received this communication in 1908 and appointed a committee to represent its interests at such a gathering. The General Conference of the Methodist Church appointed a similar committee in 1910. The secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada stated that the work in each diocese was under the direct control of the bishop of the diocese and that consequently it would be necessary to refer all such matters to the several bishops. The Home Mission Board of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec appointed a committee, but after this committee had met it declined to enter into any scheme of coöperation except among non-English-speaking settlers.

Influence of the West

Thus the possibilities of coöperation were limited very largely to the three bodies negotiating union. Before their joint committee came together, however, Alberta had begun to work out a system of its own. In March, 1910, the Presbytery of Red Deer overtured the Synod of Alberta to take immediate steps to avoid overlapping. The synod empowered its synodical committee on home missions to act for it, and ordered that the overture be transmitted to the Alberta Conference of the Methodist Church, which was to meet in May. A month later the General Conference of the Methodist Church had approved the Basis of Union, and following this the Central Board of Missions of that church appointed a western committee of the board, which met at Regina in 1910. As a result of these proceedings, a joint meeting of representatives from both churches in Alberta was held in Knox Church, Calgary, in January, 1911. At this meeting a constitution was drawn up, the province was divided into nine districts, and committees were appointed for each of these districts to have charge of coöperation within the districts subject to the approval of the provincial committee.

Two months later, March, 1911, the Joint Dominion Committee on Coöperation of the three denominations met in Toronto and issued an extended "Agreement for Coöperation in Home Mission Work." The agreement dealt with (a) the adjustment of overlapping in existing fields; (b) the arranging of religious work in absolutely new districts; (c) the work to be done among foreign nationalities. The means and agencies recommended to effect such coöperation were those which had already been set up in Alberta. Once again, the West, where the need was greatest, had paved the way for this agreement.

It was also in the West that these agreements were more expeditiously put into effect. The Provincial Committee on Coöperation in Saskatchewan held its first meeting in Regina, May 2, 1911. Little concrete action resulted in the first year. The provincial committee in Alberta, which had already been created before the agreement in January, met together on May 23, and each of the nine district committees submitted reports of meetings held and action taken. Somewhat similar action was taken in other western provinces.

Naturally, the success of the agreement of 1911 depended very largely upon the personnel and interest of the provincial and district committees, and it is quite clear that the most thorough-going work at this time was done in Alberta, where the provincial committee met each year until 1921, heard its reports from districts, and published its minutes. It is significant, too, that during this whole time, one of the members of both the provincial committee and the district committee of Red Deer was the Rev. W. G. Brown, D.D., one of the most persistent opponents of church union, and later Moderator of the continuing Presbyterian Church 1930-1931. For ten years he faithfully attended meetings, approved the handing over of Presbyterian work to Methodists, engaged in the alchemical enterprises of turning true blue Presbyterians into Methodists, and yet consistently opposed every effort of the unionists to consummate the projected union.

Perhaps the success of the coöperative movement in Alberta at this time was due to the fact that during the period 1911-1921, the population of the province increased from 374,295 to 588,454. The province was intersected with a network of railroad branch lines, and new points had to be covered in every district and in every year. During the latter part of the period, moreover, the great area to the north known as the Peace River was being hailed as the new El Dorado of the Canadian Northwest.

It was simple enough to make arrangements in the new territory, provided some zealous missionary did not forget the principle of non-intrusion, and except where the announcement of a new railway terminal offered a peculiar opportunity for debate among the denominational officials, who looked upon the proposed divisional point with mouths watering as for some juicy tidbit. Thus, in Saskatchewan, there was, in 1914, a prolonged controversy, reflected in the minutes, over Shaunovan, a town of slightly over 1,000 population, from which at the time great things were expected. The first efforts to divide the non-Anglo-Saxon peoples on denominational lines also did not prove practicable. It was simple enough to give the Italians to the Methodists and the Finns to the Presbyterians, to give Smith County to the Methodists and Jones County to the Presbyterians; but what if a large number of Italians were thoughtless enough to settle in Jones County and a large group of Finns to take holdings in Smith County? Modifications of the scheme, however, were made in accordance with the experience of the negotiators.

Of course, the main difficulty arose with the elimination of overlapping where it already existed. Here the problem was sometimes created by the people themselves, who did not relish the prospect of being turned over to the care of an unfamiliar denomination. Then, too, each field consisted of a number of preaching points as well as a nucleus. In a given town, there might be both a Methodist and a Presbyterian resident minister when one would be ample and even more than ample. But the Methodist minister would also supply four or five points in the surrounding country and the Presbyterian would do the same. To withdraw one of them would possibly encumber the survivor with ten preaching points, and the amalgamation of some of these points might be difficult because of the condition of the highways and the severe climate during the winter months.

Another difficulty was created by property considerations. Fortunately most of the preaching points were only schoolhouses loaned by the government for church purposes, but where there were two churches and two parsonages, however inexpensive, the church that was left in charge would have to take over any indebtedness on the church that was temporarily or permanently abandoned. Eventually, however, property sub-committees of the provincial committees on coöperation were established, an effort was made to secure a fair evaluation of all such ceded property, and a list of such property with its value was kept by the special committee at a central point. In this way an attempt was made to equalize the losses and gains incurred by the respective denominations.

In these early schemes the surviving church in any given community was definitely related to one or other of the denominations concerned; the membership roll was unified; the missionary offerings went to the denomination with which the particular church was related; the minister was selected from the denomination to which the church in that particular place was assigned.

Spread of Local Church Unions

While the scheme worked well in Alberta, it did not work so well in southern Saskatchewan, and after 1915 there is an hiatus in the minute book of the Provincial Committee on Coöperation until 1921. Nevertheless coöperation went on in the districts. In this province, however, the local union churches were spreading most rapidly, and many communities showed evidence of a preference for a "community" independent church (organized, however, on the basis of Union), to a scheme which involved the turning of Methodists into Presbyterians, and vice-versa. The denominational leaders in Saskatchewan were at the same time wondering how they could prevent the possible growth of this independent movement which might involve a loss in missionary fund and aggregate membership, and eventually, perhaps, the creation of a new denomination.[1] The three denominations were called upon to supply all but three of the ministers engaged by the independent churches, and in a majority of the cases to place their local church property at the disposal of these churches. They felt some justification, therefore, in their concern over the tendencies of the movement.

On the other hand, the leaders in the local church union movement were endeavoring to effect a closer connexional organization of their individual churches and at the same time to maintain the friendliest attitude towards the three denominations whom they had learned to call the "parent churches". They desired to form a General Council of Local Union Churches, to have an executive secretary to their own, and to establish a relationship with the "parent churches" through an advisory council. In July, 1912, delegates from the union churches met together in Regina, and in November, 1912, they held a second meeting in Moosejaw to consider these matters. A resolution was drafted, stating their wishes and sent to the Joint Committee on Coöperation. This committee, in its reply, frankly expressed a preference that each local union church should be directly affiliated with one or other of the parent churches, as might be locally preferred, but agreed to appoint a sub-committee to confer with the local union churches in regard to the matter.

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[1] Dr. Peter Strang, in his *History of Missions in Southern Saskatchewan,* says that of fifteen local union churches in that area, "only two of these Independent Unions continued to pay to missions of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches with any degree of liberality. It took nearly all of the missionary contributions of these Independent Union fields to pay for the administration of their own work." (p. 184.)

This sub-committee attended the meetings of the General Council of Local Union Churches in Regina, April 3, 1913, when the whole question of relationships was considered. It was generally agreed that union churches should be formed where "locally considered desirable," but the method of connection with the parent churches proved a contentious matter, the denominational leaders continuing to urge the direct affiliation of the individual church, and the representatives of these churches unanimously urging an advisory council. Finally, this meeting passed the following resolution:

> "We hereby express our sincere pleasure at receiving certain suggestions made by the Joint Special Committee on Union Congregations, which met in Toronto December 9th, 1912. Our Committee, having given that communication serious consideration, recommends that we express our conviction that instead of the affiliation of the Union Churches with any of the existing denominations, the best method of procedure would be by the appointment of an advisory committee to give effect to this suggestion, the function of the advisory board to be as follows:
>
> "(1) The advising and counselling of Union Congregations as to the general direction of work.
>
> "(2) To consider and make arrangements whereby ministers connected with the three churches now negotiating Union may be able to accept the pastorates of Union Churches without loss of standing or of forfeiting claims on connectional funds.
>
> "(3) To consider and advise with regard to the tenure, administration and disposal of all church property involved in the establishment of a Union Church.
>
> "(4) To advise as to the collection and disposition of missionary, educational and other funds.
>
> "(5) To give such other counsel as may appear to them to be expedient.
>
> "We suggest the following procedure in connection with the formation of Union Churches:
>
> "(1) That when in any community it is locally considered desirable, a petition be circulated, praying for the organization of a Union Church.
>
> "(2) That the said petition shall set forth the church relations, if any, of the signatories to the petition, and the said petition shall be accompanied by all other information considered relevant.
>
> "(3) That the said petition be presented to the local courts of the churches interested for report to the advisory committee, and that it also be presented to the advisory committee for their consideration and action."

The Joint Committee on Coöperation subsequently approved these recommendations and appointed its representatives on an advisory council.

Following this agreement, union churches spread rapidly. Manitoba had only one such church in the early part of 1913, but before the year was over, six churches of this type had been formed in that province. In the following year, 1914, a local union church was formed at Vegreville, Alberta. Some of this growth was probably due to the impatience of the West with the procrastination of the Presbyterian Church. At a meeting of the Advisory Council in 1915 the question of the distribution of benevolent funds was considered, and it was agreed that

> "these funds should be sent to the secretary of the Advisory Council, and by him divided on a basis of 50–50 between the Presbyterian and the Methodist churches to be applied in aid of the foreign-mission schemes of the churches. If Congregational interests were also represented in the union charge, an equitable distribution between the three churches was recommended." [2]

Apparently, the union churches were averse to giving money to home missions, as this seemed to involve a sanction of the competitive system, but as opposition to the formation of such churches diminished, their givings were more widely distributed among the different schemes of the parent churches.

The Advisory Council also considered two other problems confronting the local union churches, as follows:

(a) The Status of Ministers Serving Union Churches
  (1) They recommended and had it authorized in the courts of the Presbyterian Church that a Presbyterian minister serving a union church, should have his name entered on the appendix to the Roll of Presbytery, and the Assembly of 1916 granted to all such ministers full status in their mother church.
  (2) It was similarly arranged that a Methodist minister serving a union church, should be entered on the Conference Roll as follows: Rev. A. B., by permission of Conference, minister of .... Union Church.
  (3) Congregational ministers serving union churches retained their standing without special enactment.
(b) The Tenure of Property
  (1) They recommended and had it authorized in the courts of the churches concerned, that a union church was to be allowed to use the property of the mother churches, without rent, but becoming responsible for the liabilities, if any, against such property; the property until the consummation of union to remain in the name of the mother church concerned.

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[2] From a document supplied by the former secretary of the General Council of Local Union Churches, Rev. John Reid.

(2) They recommended that when a union church acquired its own property, the simplest method of tenure was for the property to be held by local trustees until the consummation of union. This method was accepted by the majority of union churches.

Thus, in regard to the last recommendation, the Kerrobert Union Church incorporated its property under the Benevolent Ordinance Act of Saskatchewan, while the Frobisher Union Church was incorporated by a special act of the Provincial Parliament.

At a meeting of the General Council of Local Union Churches, held in Regina, April 5, 1916, it was decided to form three presbyteries, thus carrying still further the connexional type of organization proposed in the draft Basis of Union, and an organizer was appointed in each of these three presbyteries. Eventually there were six presbyteries in the General Council.

When the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church decided at Winnipeg, in 1916, to unite some time after the War, it also recommended that district coöperative committees should include in their functions the organization of union churches, and suggested that the union churches should have representation on these committees. By this time, however, the Joint Committee on Coöperation was still troubled by the growth and possible future development of these churches, and hence, when it met again in Toronto, January 3-4, 1917, not only were there no representatives present from the local union churches, but the Committee effected a revision of the agreement of 1911, which was obviously directed against their continued growth. Section 6 of the original agreement was fundamentally altered to permit the organization of local union churches on the terms of the proposed Basis of Union governing the local church, but such church was to have "complete connexional relationship with that denomination to which it has been assigned."

THE THIRD PERIOD

This introduced the third period of coöperation, which lasted from 1917 to 1922. Heretofore, the locally amalgamated church had to become an integral unit of the Presbyterian or Methodist churches, and adopted the form of local church government practised by the denomination to which it had been assigned. Now, these churches might anticipate the consummation of Union by the adoption of the proposed "Basis," which had by this time been formally approved by the negotiating churches, even as the local union churches had similarly anticipated the consummation of Union. There was, however, this difference; that the church so formed on the Basis of Union should be directly affiliated with one of the denominations and not indirectly through the Advisory Council of the General Council of Local Union Churches.

Independent Union Vs. Affiliated Churches

This revision of the agreement of 1911 was made January 3, 1917, and on the following day, the Joint Committee on Coöperation approved a "suggested plan for local union churches" which began:

> "In the judgment of this committee the principle of union in different localities, until the organic union of the negotiating churches is consummated, should find expression in the organization of charges under the plan of coöperation jointly adopted by the negotiating churches rather than by the organization of independent Local Union Churches."

This pronouncement, following closely the decision of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to consummate Union "sometime," speeded up the coöperative process along the new lines, not alone in the West but also in New Ontario and in the Maritime provinces. First, "Single Affiliation" as proposed in the revision was tried, but this did not work so very satisfactorily. Then at Grand Coulee, Saskatchewan, an experiment was made in 1918 with "Double Affiliation," and the "D.A." method became the most popular. On February 8, 1921, it was adopted by the Provincial Committee on Coöperation in Saskatchewan as the most approved method, although difficulties connected with the appointment of ministers and the distribution of benevolent funds made revision necessary the following year. There were further difficulties which developed at the time the vote was taken (in 1925), since, though it had been agreed that a "united roll of membership shall be formed and the denomination of each member shall be indicated," the anti-unionists claimed that the Presbyterian members of this kind of charge had a right to vote whether they would go into the Union or not, and this led to all but impossible situations in a few places. The major difficulties immediately experienced arose in the arrangement of ministers; and in general, under double affiliation, the accepted procedure was as follows: (a) The pastoral term shall be for four years. (b) The denomination of the first minister, if the congregation so desires it, shall be determined by a committee selected by the Provincial Coöperating Committee for this purpose. (c) The minister in charge shall be selected alternately from the coöperating denominations.

This method of selection was really devised to meet the necessities of the Methodist system of selecting ministers, and in these early experiments The United Church of Canada gained some preliminary experience in the work of its "settlement committee."

Following the adoption of the plan of double affiliation by the Provincial Committee in Saskatchewan, the Provincial Committee in Manitoba adopted a similar plan some four months later, on June 6, 1921. Whereupon the Dominion Committee on Coöperation held a meeting on October

22, 1922, and formally approved the method of either single or double affiliation. It will thus be seen that these experiments were tried locally, or at least provincially, before the national authorities gave their formal *imprimatur* and *nihil obstat* to the formula. The West was always pushing the East.

The adoption of such measures, however, created tensions between those organizing the independent local union churches and the denominational leaders urging single or double affiliation. In several communities—e. g., Aneroid, Ceylon, Morse (all in Saskatchewan) and Vicking, Alberta—community churches were organized which asserted their independence by not even accepting at the outset the proposed Basis of Union. There was some talk of an independent church in the West, and this was apparently what the denominational leaders—still in the dark as to the eventual outcome of the internal difficulties in the Presbyterian camp—really feared. Thus, for a time, developed the competition between the coöperators, the home missionary superintendents, urging single or double affiliation, and the others pressing for an independent local union church.

The independent local churches connected by a General Council were seventy in number in 1921. Sixty-seven were in the West and three were in Ontario. Accurate statistics of these churches have not been preserved, but data relative to thirteen of them would seem to warrant the conjecture that altogether they probably raised annually, for all purposes, an aggregate sum of $297,685, had 10,263 members and 151 preaching stations in addition to their central parish, and administered property valued at $700,000. It must be remembered, however, that since the agreement with the Advisory Committee in 1913, most of the churches were owned by the Presbyterian and Methodist denominations jointly. The ministers were also drawn mostly from the three denominations, thus: Presbyterians, 30; Methodists, 21 (one man serving three fields); Congregational, 8; Baptists, 2; Anglicans, 1; vacancies, 6.

The progress of these churches had been definitely checked by the promotion of the double and triple affiliation scheme on the part of their denominational leaders, and one suspects, by the quiet activity of these leaders in localities where some form of amalgamation was brewing. Still, the independent churches were quite vigorous and at least acted as a Socratic gadfly on the negotiating denominations, making them not only think but act.

In 1919 the General Council of the Local Union Churches felt able to employ a salaried field secretary. At the same time, the third clause of the Resolution of April, 1913, which provided that before a local independent union church should be formed, a petition should first be presented to the local courts of the "parent churches interested for report to the Advisory Committee, and that it also be presented to the Advisory Committee for their consideration and action," was abrogated as too cumbersome. Incidentally, the local courts of the parent churches would only have immediately countered with the double affiliation scheme. The War was over, the West was getting still more impatient of delay, and the move for a complete break from all denominational connections, unless something happened soon, grew ominous. The time seemed opportune, and the General Council of the Local Union Churches sent a communication to Toronto requesting representation on the Joint Union Committee. A somewhat similar request in 1917 had been denied, but in 1921 it was granted, and from 1921 to 1925 official representatives of the General Council sat on the Joint Union Committee. When the legislation was finally drafted it was provided that The United Church of Canada would include the churches affiliated with this fourth body, and the first General Council of The United Church of Canada included in its personnel ten representatives of the local union churches. The president of the local union churches—incidentally a Baptist—participated in the inaugural proceedings. It is of further interest to note that through this body two Baptist ministers and one Anglican minister came, automatically and "without reordination," into the ministry of The United Church of Canada.

Had the denominational leaders been more indulgent with these independent churches, there would undoubtedly have been several hundred of them in existence in 1925 instead of only seventy. But the denominational authorities feared, as has already been indicated, that such churches would not be as responsive to appeals for subscriptions; that an independent denomination might develop, especially in case the movement for union was ultimately wrecked on the intensity of the Presbyterian opposition, and that they might consequently lose their equities in the various properties. They were also anxious lest the over-development of these churches might ultimately lead to the breaking of the religious unity of the Dominion into a western church one the one hand, and on the other hand, some eastern churches that might survive the conclusion of the negotiations.

Moreover, the coöperative scheme was difficult enough to work out without adding any further complications. The union churches were almost entirely dependent upon the negotiating churches for their ministers, and this meant adjustments in annuity funds and in keeping names on presbytery and conference rolls. There was still another difficulty. Every readjustment meant a readjustment not only of central fields but of outlying preaching stations. The continued growth of independent union churches would have intensified the difficulties of such modifications in the relationships of outlying points to central charges. It seemed better, therefore, to keep open direct lines between the individual churches and the denominational offices.

With the suggestions for single, double and triple affiliations in 1917 and 1921, the work of local amalgamation went on apace all over the country. There had been some coöperation in New Ontario prior to 1917, but this had been attempted rather timidly and on a personal basis, although there were some signed agreements. But a month after the meeting in Toronto, in January, 1917, when the agreement of 1911 had been revised, representatives of the two denominations met together in North Bay and adopted the revised basis. The two home missionary superintendents set to work to effect local amalgamations, with the result that they were soon able to report that their adjustments had resulted in the "saving of eighty men, thirty-nine Methodists and forty-one Presbyterians, together with upwards of fifty thousand dollars to the missionary enterprises of the churches."

The resultant situation was an ecclesiastical omelette that could only be "unscrambled" by organic union. In his address before the Private Bills Committee of the House of Commons, in 1925, the Very Reverend Principal Oliver, D.D., later Moderator of the United Church, 1930–1932, described some of these complications quite graphically:

> "Take a place like Craik (Saskatchewan); it has two churches, two manses. They have an opportunity to sell one of the churches and pay off the debt and become a more active working force, but they are cautious there as well as in other places and they are waiting for the actual consummation of Union. At Rouleau, they pulled the Presbyterian church across the road to the Methodist church and made a nave out of it, and there they have two church buildings actually joined together. (Laughter.) Now, I say respectfully, no matter what is done here or in the church courts, that is not going to be undone. Let me say that in Colfax there is this situation that the basement is Methodist and the superstructure is Presbyterian. (Laughter.) The only improvement on that would be to have the foundation Presbyterian and the superstructure Methodist. (Laughter.) Oxbow is in the same position. There are real difficulties. These are minor matters, and these are burdens which great churches in the East could likely bear, but these are small communities, and you are putting on the pioneers of the frontiers burdens which are real difficulties to those places which are struggling to maintain the Kingdom out there. They cannot give titles to their property; the Basis of Union makes it necessary to get the consent of local trustees; they cannot sell; it is made a provision that at every step these local trustees must give their permission. There are problems about unnecessary insurance, unnecessary unkeep, adjustment of buildings, rearrangement of fields. All are being interfered with and all are being held up in those places where it has not been consummated, and even in places where it has already been brought to pass.

"May I say that the General Assembly created a little difficulty for us. In 1921, the Assembly gave permission to sell property for union churches. Then I think it was at a subsequent Assembly that the trustees said that it could not be done without legislation. Many had already in that year to act upon that question, and it interrupts for us our church life and raises some difficulties."

Coöperation was also being pushed in the Maritime provinces. Here, again, we find among some of the foremost champions of coöperation men who were consistently opposed to organic union. One of them spoke before the Presbytery of St. John when the matter was first proposed, and lamented that these steps had not been taken before.[8] One of the most significant coöperative enterprises grew out of the Halifax disaster in 1917. In one of the districts devastated by the explosion, two churches—one a Presbyterian and the other a Methodist—were completely wrecked, and 239 members of the two congregations lost their lives. Out of the wreckage rose the first united church in the Maritime provinces, dedicated, in 1920, to the memory of the members who had lost their lives in the explosion.

Local Union Preceded Formal Union

Long before Union was completed, therefore, local union had, with the approval of the denominational bodies, taken place in hundreds of communities. The really effective union of churches in Canada anticipated the formal union. When the churches legally came together in 1925, the greater part of the work of local amalgamation had already been done. The exact number of these amalgamations or readjustments is difficult at this time to attest, but the figures in Table XI, presented in 1923, seem on the whole reasonably accurate.

TABLE XI—AMALGAMATION OF CHURCHES PRIOR TO UNION

	Number of Churches			
Synods	Coöperating and Delimiting Territory	Affiliated	Independent Union	Total
Maritime Provinces	22	6	2	30
Montreal and Ottawa	..	28	1	29
Toronto and Kingston	168	2	..	170
Manitoba	64	69	15	148
Saskatchewan	350	51	30	431
Alberta	278	16	3	297
British Columbia	132	4	3	139
Total	1,014	176	54	1,244

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[8] Rev. Frank Baird, D.D., Moderator of the continuing Presbyterian Church, 1929–1930.

In reading these figures, it must be borne in mind that in many of the 1,014 charges listed in the first column, there had never been any real competition between Presbyterian and Methodist churches. As new territory was settled a single denomination had been entrusted with the care of a given area under the various coöperative agreements. The Methodists would be given one branch of a railroad and the Presbyterians another; or, in other instances, Presbyterians and Methodists would be allotted alternate charges along the same branch. Again, there were communities in which only one of the churches had actually commenced work, but where there was a large enough number of members of the other denomination to warrant, under the competitive system, another church being started. When the agreements went into effect, however, the church already at work was left in peaceful possession, and the adherents of the other church were not only refused any support in initiating a work of their own, but were also definitely advised to throw in their lot with the congregation already organized.

The anti-unionists criticized the figures above presented on the ground that it implied amalgamations in hundreds of fields where there had never been any competition; but if one remembers that the principles of procedure were designed not only to eliminate existing overlapping, but to prevent it in the future, the figures furnished prove, on careful examination, to be substantially correct. It will thus be seen that in 1923, two years before the consummation of Union, there were in Canada 1,244 pastoral charges, representing at least 3,000 preaching stations, where union in one of the various forms was already in operation.

The Fourth Period

Further coöperative efforts were made in 1923–1925, but by this time most of the work outside of the cities had been done. When, in 1924, the petitioners for enabling legislation appeared before the Private Bills Committee of the House of Commons at Ottawa, they introduced maps of the various provinces in the Dominion with the names of all the pastoral charges where some form of coöperation was in effect printed in red, and the names of all charges, including the cities where both denominations had churches, printed in black. Criticism was directed against the maps on the same grounds as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph; but on close examination the accuracy of these maps is substantially verified, although here and there are slight and unimportant inaccuracies, or a presentation of a situation which, while it might be defended, is perhaps misleading.

Congregational Coöperation

In all this description of coöperation, little has been said of the Congregationalists, and it might seem to some that coöperation was almost purely a Presbyterian-Methodist affair. This was substantially the case in the prairie provinces, since Congregationalists never ventured into the hinterland of those provinces to any appreciable extent. Considerable coöperation in which the Congregationalists participated was, however, effected in the Maritime provinces, especially between 1920 and 1925. Again, in certain Quebec towns, the Congregationalists united in some local federations, one of which at least does not seem to have been particularly successful, and in Saskatchewan an exclusive area in the neighborhood of Battleford was given to the Congregationalists, where they carried on a small but effective work.

Even in the city of Toronto, one of the Congregational churches, having sold its property in a downtown district which was being preëmpted, moved into Rosedale, one of the wealthiest and most exclusive districts, and after contributing the proceeds of the sale to the new church and furnishing its quota of loyal members, converted the work into a community church. The result has been that this church is today one of the strongest United churches in the Dominion, contributing in one year since Union nearly $40,000 to the missionary work of the church. Contributions from the Congregational home missionary society also greatly facilitated the building in Toronto of other suburban churches imbued with the community ideal.

SUMMARY OF THE COÖPERATIVE PERIODS

In summary it may be said that there were four distinct periods of coöperation:

1. The period of informal conversations between superintendents of home missionary work, 1903–1911. In this period we have also the beginnings of the independent local union churches, formed on the proposed Basis of Union.
2. The period of formal agreements, 1911–1917, enforced particularly in the western provinces, under the general direction of provincial and district coöperating committees, and with the subsequent delimitation of fields, but in which the resulting church, however mixed its membership, was always a strict Presbyterian church or a strict Methodist church.
3. The period of the formation of local union charges, formed on the proposed Basis of Union, but definitely affiliated with one or other of the negotiating churches, 1917–1922.
4. The period of the formation of local union charges, formed on the proposed Basis of Union, but affiliated with two or more of the negotiating churches, 1922–1925.

The initial dates assigned to each of these periods are those when the Central Committee on Coöperation and Union approved this particular type of coöperation, but in each case provinces or communities anticipated the formal approval by trying out the experiments and finding them successful.

It will be pointed out in chapter xii how far the process of overlapping had not been eliminated by 1925, and to what degree this work has been carried on since that year. It is sufficient to indicate at this point, that outside of the cities, little remained to be done in the western provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, or in New Ontario, and that very substantial progress was made after 1917 in the eastern provinces as well.

Those who had the larger share of the responsibility for these adjustments insist, however, that such coöperation only became possible as the ultimate union of the three bodies was assured; that, in short, the prospective union was responsible for the success of the coöperative movement, which cannot therefore be judged by itself. On the other hand, instances have already been noted of Presbyterians consistently opposed to union but zealous in their support of the coöperative movement. It can hardly be doubted that the two movements were constantly interactive; the coöperative movement was forcing the denominations towards organic union, and the prospects of organic union alone made possible the prevailing success of coöperation.

Of course, such coöperation in the entire period was limited almost exclusively to home-mission fields. Self-sustaining churches were not involved in the negotiations.

Work Among Non-Anglo-Saxons

In the transitional period, coöperation among the home missionary organizations of the three denominations was also promoted in the work for non-Anglo-Saxons. It will be recalled that when, in 1908–1911, an attempt at general interdenominational coöperation was sought, the Baptist committee decided not to coöperate except in work for non-English-speaking peoples. It does not seem, however, that any effort was ever made to accept this restricted offer. Participation in this aspect of the coöperative movement was, therefore, limited to the Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians.

There had been no reference to work among the non-Anglo-Saxons in the first proposals of 1903, although even at that early date some scattered efforts were being made in this direction by the different denominations. But the period 1901–1911 was a period of great immigration, and Canada was confronting a new racial problem. Table XII, giving the immigration statistics for the Dominion, 1900–1925, clearly indicates the nature of the growth.

TABLE XII—IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA, 1900–1925

	Number of Immigrants			
Nationality	1900–1910	1910–1920	1920–1925	Total
British	562,054	687,215	273,887	1,523,156
United States	496,959	821,490	135,750	1,454,199
⎧ Austro-Hungarian	104,716	95,310	1,730	......
⎩ Ukrainian	....	....	1,474	203,230
French and Belgian	21,215	23,765	7,596	52,576
Italian	55,458	66,049	17,095	138,602
Polish	7,214	29,051	16,634	52,899
Roumanian	4,377	4,314	5,642	14,333
Serbian (Jugo-Slavian)	220	1,058	3,331	4,609
Finns	11,366	10,358	14,747	36,471
Russian	32,329	64,935	10,089	107,353
Hebrew	43,529	32,585	22,674	98,788
German	18,612	20,209	4,515	43,336
Syrian	5,105	889	1,153	7,147
Chinese	6,046	31,867	5,566	43,479
Japanese	12,691	7,195	2,321	22,207
Others	71,500	79,153	47,081	197,734
Total Immigration	1,453,391	1,975,443	571,285	4,000,119

In reading these figures it must be remembered that the heterogeneous population of the United States and post-war adjustments in Europe have rendered them very deceptive. In the period 1900–1911 the immigration from the United States totalled 618,410. A table compiled a year later indicated that there were 303,680 persons resident in Canada who had been born in the United States. This would seem to indicate that a very large percentage of those who had entered Canada from the United States had been born abroad. But a further analysis of the 303,680 persons who were born in the United States indicates that less than 50 per cent. were of Anglo-Saxon stock, the French, German and Scandinavian peoples alone being responsible for 33 per cent. of this total.

In one year alone, 1912, the total immigration into Canada reached 402,432 persons, of whom over 100,000 came from continental Europe. The War of course halted this unprecedented movement of the peoples.

When, therefore, the first agreement of 1911 was signed, the pressure of immigration was being keenly felt by all the Canadian churches. At that time the Presbyterians reported that there were boards of home missions carrying on work among the Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Hungarians, Finns, Bohemians, Bulgarians and Italians, while the board of foreign missions supervised work in Canada among the Jews, Chinese and Indians.

The Methodists reported that they conducted work among Austrians, Italians, Scandinavians, Poles and Syrians, while their foreign missions department included activities among the Indians, Japanese and Chinese in Canada. The Congregationalists reported that their work was largely among the Swedish, the Germans (really Russo-Germans) and the Welsh-Patagonians (i.e., Welsh who had first migrated to Patagonia in the Argentine and thence, because of economic reverses, to Canada). It will thus be seen that both Presbyterians and Methodists carried on work among the Indians, Chinese and Italians; while Congregationalists and Methodists carried on work among the Swedish people or Scandinavians. In the agreement of 1911 it was suggested that "certain districts or nationalities be assigned to the different denominations; but that if preferred in any locality, there be a combination of resources for the prosecution of the work."

The carrying out of this agreement was largely left to provincial and local committees, which dealt with situations as they arose. Little happened, however, until after 1917, when the revision of the agreement was made. No specific changes in the terms respecting work among non-Anglo-Saxons were made, but a Committee of Fourteen, consisting of seven Presbyterians and seven Methodists, was appointed, which met regularly after 1917 to consider ways and means of coöperation in this field.

The most important group in Canada by this time were the Ukrainians. Before the War they had been variously listed in government and denominational reports as Ruthenians, Galicians, Austrians, Russians, etc. Today they number nearly 300,000 with their most important urban centres in Winnipeg and Toronto. The Presbyterians had a peculiar interest in this field since that church had fostered from 1901 the movement known as "The Independent Greek Church Movement." As early as 1904 this movement had twenty-four Ukrainian ministers. In 1913 the whole movement was incorporated in the Presbyterian Church in Canada. At Winnipeg the Presbyterians published a weekly paper called *The Ranok* in Ukrainian; the Methodists published a similar paper in Edmonton called *The Canadian.* In 1920 these two papers were consolidated into *The Canadian Ranok,* which was published at Winnipeg as a bi-weekly with eight pages and has today a gross circulation of about 4,000. The Ukrainians were also to be found in many bloc settlements on the prairies, and the two denominations, after locating and surveying these settlements, divided the territory between them, not along provincial or racial lines but by given areas within the various provinces. This enabled a more wise construction of hospitals, community work, etc.

In Edmonton and Calgary all work for non-Anglo-Saxons was consolidated and operated by a joint committee, and the expenses shared. In

Winnipeg, on the other hand, both groups continued to work in various areas as there was plenty of work for the two denominations. The Chinese work was never consolidated in Vancouver or Victoria. Chinese individualism is perhaps in part responsible for the fact that this work was not touched by the movement. A consolidation of this character, effected in Toronto, was undone when Union was actually consummated. The Italian work in Hamilton and Montreal was also not consolidated.

As plans were being made for some institutional work in cities with large foreign-born populations, e.g., Sault Ste. Marie, Port Arthur, Fort William, Sydney, etc., definite coöperation was established at these points. The Presbyterians agreed to erect a centre at Sydney, while the Methodists concentrated on Sault Ste. Marie. At Fort William the Methodists erected a building and plans were prepared by the Presbyterians for a building at Port Arthur. In these ways, the foundation was laid for many "All People's Missions" which have sprung up in these and other communities since Union, and the amount of duplication was reduced to a minimum.

Social Service

Attention has been directed in chapter iv to the formation of a Social Service Council of Canada, in which the representatives of the churches took a leading part. This coöperation continued during the period of the negotiations and was shared not only by the three churches that planned to unite but also by Anglicans, Baptists, Roman Catholics (in the first years of the enterprise) and others. The result of this association was that Canadian church leaders took an unusually prominent part in securing the social legislation, such as workmen's compensation, old-age pensions, mothers' allowances, minimum wage laws, etc., which was characteristic of Canadian life in the period, 1907–1920.

Not only were Christian ministers and laymen unusually active in securing these new forms of social legislation, but they were also entrusted by the various governments concerned, to a surprising extent, with the administration of the new laws. Thus, the social movement in Canada was perhaps more deeply rooted in the religious impulse than in the United States and consequently the drift was less to secularism. In part, the reason for this would seem to lie in the conservatism of eastern universities in Canada, which, loath to admit that sociology is a science worthy of serious study in a university, have assumed that everything essential could be treated in the departments of political science, economics or history; in part, it is due to the fact that in Canada the church as such is much more of a central institution in the life of the people not only in Catholic Quebec but also in dominantly Protestant areas; in part, too, it is due to the accident that among those who most deeply felt the need for advanced measures were many clergymen.

On the other hand, Protestant denominations, unlike the Catholics in Quebec and elsewhere, did not to any marked degree seek to create social institutions, such as homes for the aged and orphanages, etc., under their own direction. They left to the communities and to the respective governments themselves the responsibility for creating and administering these agencies, feeling a reasonable assurance that the government would always be friendly to the use of the religious motif in their operation. In the western provinces they occasionally promoted hospitals and home schools; on the Indian reserves, they established various agencies with government support; between 1910 and 1920 the institutional church made its appearance in certain cities, and these churches were for the most part operated locally or by the home-mission boards rather than by the social-service commissions of the various denominations at large.

There was, however, one particular agency which the Protestant denominations did promote directly, believing that in these the religious motive was of peculiar significance. These were homes for wayward and delinquent girls. In certain parts of the country the Roman Catholics alone had such homes, and girls committed to them by the courts were submitted not alone to moral discipline, but, it was frequently alleged, to proselytism. The churches, therefore, began to develop homes under their own auspices, where they provided the buildings and the administrators; and the various governments, municipal or provincial, gave a per diem per person allowance for maintenance. Such a home was established for younger girls from all three Maritime provinces at Truro in 1912; another at Moncton, N. B., for older girls and women; a third at Calgary. Other homes of a similar character were already in existence in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Sydney. Where they were administered entirely locally, their administration was not affected in any way; but where the denominations at large contributed to their maintenance, coöperation was arranged, so that each shared in the expense and no overlapping developed. The Presbyterians and the Methodists were most active in this coöperation, but Baptists and Anglicans also participated in the support of the Maritime School for Girls at Truro and at Moncton.

Coöperation in the Theological Colleges

The movement for union promoted and, in some instances, actually initiated coöperation between the theological institutions in those cities where more than one of the uniting denominations had colleges for the training of ministers; and the coöperation achieved in this sphere before

Union facilitated the actual consolidation of the work of teaching immediately after Union. It will be simpler to consider the extent of coöperation between theological colleges by areas:

Maritime Provinces

In the Maritime provinces Presbyterian ministers were trained at a college in Halifax which was affiliated with Dalhousie University and had a history going back to 1820. The Methodist ministers were trained at Mt. Allison University, Sackville, N. B., founded in 1858, one hundred and fifty miles from Halifax. The distance between the two points precluded the possibility of effective coöperation at this point until after Union.

Montreal

Montreal was and is the outstanding metropolitan city of the Dominion, but it is in an area dominantly Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, there were four theological institutions affiliated with McGill University—the Congregational College, established in Montreal in 1865; the Presbyterian College founded in 1867; the Wesleyan Theological College, founded 1872; and an Anglican Diocesan College, founded 1873. In no instance was the student body particularly large, and all four institutions were hampered by small budgets. Here the coöperative movement began in 1906–8, when the professor of Old Testament Language and Literature[4] in the Congregational College gave his courses in Old Testament Exegesis and Theology to the amalgamated classes of both the Congregational and Wesleyan colleges. An effort was made to have this arrangement continued, but it proved impracticable. Soon afterwards, in 1908, Professor Creelman resigned, having accepted a call to a similar chair at Auburn Seminary in New York State. The Congregationalists then proposed that the three colleges pool the Old Testament work, using the two professors already employed, the three colleges to divide the expenses of the two men. It happened that the Presbyterian professor received a larger salary than the Methodist professor and this arrangement was to continue. The Methodist professor refused to accept the plan. Then it was suggested that the Methodist professor receive the same salary as the Presbyterian professor; but the Methodist authorities did not approve of a scheme which gave one of their professors a larger salary than the others, and this proposal fell through.

About 1911, McGill University was completing a successful drive for endowment funds, and the faculty of the Presbyterian College asked for a division of one of their departments and the endowment of a new chair.

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[4] Professor Harlan Creelman, D.D.

At the same time there was visiting Montreal a missionary from the Orient who had been instrumental in uniting several small and ineffective denominational schools of theology into one well-equipped, well-manned institution. His story aroused some of the Presbyterian laymen, who secured the coöperation of influential Anglican, Congregational and Methodist laymen, and they convinced in turn the respective authorities, including the Anglican bishop, that a coöperative scheme of this character was feasible in Montreal.[5] A banquet of one hundred men was arranged, and the scheme was presented and approved. A generous offer from Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal facilitated the arrangements. "A Joint Board of the Theological Colleges affiliated with McGill University" was incorporated, with powers to acquire endowments, real or personal property, etc. One of the provisions of the act of incorporation was: "In the event of any college withdrawing its representatives from the Board or ceasing to coöperate therewith, it shall have no claim to any share in the property of the Board, nor any interest therein."

Pending the erection of a permanent building, a building was obtained which has been called Divinity Hall, where lectures were given to the joint classes of the four institutions by members of the joint faculty. At first the course in the Prayer Book was taken exclusively by Anglican students, but when it was converted into the history of liturgics, the enrolment became more general. The coöperation proved very satisfactory, since the sharing of the courses by so many professors made a much richer curriculum. The colleges continued, however, to maintain and operate their own buildings as well as the central building. When, in 1925, the property of the Presbyterian College in Montreal was ceded by the enabling legislation in Quebec to the non-concurring Presbyterians, the complete coöperation enjoyed until then was interrupted, and certain adjustments were necessary. There is still, however, an ever-increasing coöperation between the United Theological College of the United Church and the Diocesan College.

Kingston

At Kingston, only the Presbyterians had a theological institution. Queen's University had been founded in 1841, and until 1912 its theological faculty was completely integrated with the rest of the university. In 1912, in the interests of a larger secularization, an adjustment was made whereby the teaching of theology was segregated in a separate faculty, and certain buildings, together with an endowment of $200,000, were set aside for the use of the theological college. The legend developed that the income from this endowment was conditional on the theological college remaining at Kingston, but there is nothing in the Dominion charter of 1912 which would confirm the legend.[6] The fact that it is widely believed throughout the church, together with local pride and the absence of any Methodist institution at Kingston, made any adjustment of the theological training at this point impracticable.

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[5] The Anglicans hesitated over the possibilities of the common teaching of Church History. Their fears were somewhat allayed when it was pointed out that two of their approved textbooks were by Professor Fisher, of Yale, a Congregationalist, and Professor Lindsay, of Glasgow, a Presbyterian.

Toronto

The University of Toronto contained among its federated or affiliated colleges, Victoria (Methodist—theology and arts); Knox (Presbyterian—theology only); Trinity (Anglican—arts and theology), and Wycliffe (Anglican—theology only). The coöperative movement here did not include the Anglicans and was limited to Victoria and Knox. Knox College had completed, in 1914, the erection of new buildings costing upwards of $750,000 on the university campus. It had perhaps the best theological library in the Dominion, a good staff unanimous for Union, and a moderately large student body. Victoria had no theological buildings apart from those used by the arts students. It was generally believed that when Union came, Knox College, thus excellently equipped, would be the centre of theological education for the United Church in Toronto.

Coöperation, however, began only in 1921. Then, in response to a resolution of the General Assembly calling upon the Board of Education "to seek to coördinate our educational work with that of sister churches," an official committee representing Knox and Victoria authorities worked out a scheme of coöperation based on the following principles:

(1) To prevent as far as possible any needless duplication of lectures and to promote greater effectiveness in the most economical way.

(2) So to arrange classes that instruction can be given separately to the better equipped students and to those less equipped to the advantages of both classes.

(3) To provide a wider range of courses for advanced students and thus make it possible for men to receive specialized training and pursue post-graduate work without leaving Canada.

(4) To extend the training given by the colleges to various classes of religious workers who may not be looking forward to the Christian ministry as their life-work.

The Senate of Knox, in craving authorization for the proposed agreement from the General Assembly of 1922, asked for two further appointments—one to a chair in religious education and the other to a chair in church history—in order that it might bring into the readjustment its full quota of professors and lecturers. The General Assembly refused to authorize more than one new appointment, and consequently the bulk of the teaching in religious education was carried on by Victoria men. Victoria men also taught almost exclusively the courses in sociology and public speaking.

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[6] At the time The United Church of Canada Act was passed in 1924, an effort was unsuccessfully made by certain friends of Queen's to include such a provision in the section of the act dealing with colleges. The legend, however, is even assumed to be true in the report of the committee on economy in the theological colleges, of which Sir Robert Falconer was chairman, presented to the Fifth General Council in 1932. See Agenda, p. 72.

When coöperation was first proposed, some of the professors were rather cold to the scheme, as it involved a fair amount of personal readjustment; but when put into actual operation, general satisfaction ensued. There is no evidence that the association of the students from the two institutions did anything but develop the union spirit. Familiarity did *not* breed contempt. This enterprise, however, received a rude shock when, in 1925, the enabling legislation passed by the Province of Ontario handed over the Knox buildings to the non-concurring Presbyterians. Under the division of property authorized by the Dominion Act, the endowments of the institution were also divided. As Victoria had no separate buildings, and the Knox faculty and student body were almost unanimous for Union, this meant the raising of more than $800,000 for a new building.

Winnipeg

In Winnipeg, the Methodists had established Wesley College in 1873; the college was, however, inactive for a number of years; a Theological Department had been added in 1889. The Presbyterians had founded Manitoba College in 1853. Both of these colleges, at the beginning of the coöperative period under consideration, were teaching both arts and theology in affiliation with the University of Manitoba. Some form of coöperation had existed, however, since 1889. In 1914, Manitoba College confined its attention to theology, while Wesley College majored in arts. During the period under consideration both colleges united their efforts in the university in the teaching of (1) Semitic Languages and Literature, (2) Biblical Greek, (3) Religious Education (a minor), (4) Old Testament Scripture, and (5) New Testament Scripture. In the regular theological course, complete coöperation was carried out in all courses.

Saskatoon

The Presbyterians had established St. Andrew's College in 1912, on the theory that some theological institution should be attached to each provincial university. The Anglicans also had a diocesan college at Saskatoon; but the Methodists never started any college at this point—they had already established a college teaching more general subjects at Regina. Coöperation, therefore, was not needed in Saskatoon, and St. Andrew's endeavored to stress the preparation of leaders for work among new Canadians.

Edmonton

The Methodists had established a theological department in Alberta College South in 1909; the Presbyterians founded Robertson College in 1911. Coöperation began here in 1913. Until 1918 Robertson College contributed two professors and one lecturer; from 1918 to 1925 it contributed one professor and one lecturer, while Alberta College furnished three professors and one lecturer. When Union came the work was completely consolidated under one board, and the two colleges became one—St. Stephen's.

Vancouver

The Methodists were the first to offer theological instruction in Vancouver, in connection with Columbia College, which was founded in 1891, and was principally a secondary school. In 1911, they decided to transfer the theological work to a separate institution to be called Ryerson College; but the Great War interrupted the plans. The Presbyterians, in 1907, founded Westminster Hall, which was unique among all the institutions inasmuch as its regular term began in April and concluded in September. In this way it recruited its faculty from the staffs of other institutions in Canada and the motherland, and certain students, after finishing their regular year's work in an eastern institution, would go to British Columbia and take further work in the "long vacation." The projected plans for Ryerson did not materialize until 1923, when a coöperative scheme was worked out which involved not only Ryerson and Westminster Hall, but the Anglican College as well. These plans were further developed after Union. The present college is affiliated with the University of British Columbia.

It will thus be seen that before Union the coöperative policy had touched every point where more than one of the uniting denominations had a theological institution. While the long delay in consummating Union interfered with the prosecution of some of the plans, it did enable the colleges affected to be all but organically unified before 1925, and this latter step was thus made comparatively simple. It cannot be said that in every case an actual saving of money was effected, although this was the case if we consider what the expense of meeting the needs of the colleges on an uncoöperative basis would have been. Chairs which otherwise would have been created were rendered unnecessary. In some cases, as in Montreal, a new building had to be added to those already in existence. On the other hand, if we consider the work of the colleges from the point of view of efficiency, the coöperative system saved the situation, making good institutions into better, mediocre institutions into passable colleges, and giving some impossible schools at least a valid reason for existence. In the opinion of many, there are still too many theological colleges for its actual needs in The United Church of Canada.

Coöperation in Sunday School Publications

Coöperation was also established in the editing and printing of Sunday-school publications. The Methodist Church had largely used the uniform lessons, but began to supply graded lessons, imported from the United States, about 1909. It also issued a teachers' monthly entitled *The Banner,* in which most of the lesson material until 1922 was also secured in the United States. The Presbyterians were promoting the use of the departmental graded series and obtained most of their material from the Presbyterian Reformed Syndicate in the United States. Some of the American material was not exactly suited to Canadian needs, but the two churches did not feel able to publish quarterlies of their own, written with the Canadian constituency exclusively in mind. The Presbyterians also published a *Teachers' Monthly* which provided helps of various kinds, especially for those who were using the departmental graded series. In 1915 the Presbyterians made an arrangement with the Methodists by which the printing in Canada was to be done by the Methodist Book Room, which had one of the largest printing plants in the Dominion, whereas the Presbyterians had no plant of their own, and the Methodists, on their part, purchased from the Presbyterians the right to the use of the departmentally graded quarterlies which the two churches issued with their own respective imprints. In 1922 *The Banner* and the *Teachers' Monthly* were consolidated, the joint publication being called *The Teachers' Monthly.* Experiments were also made at this time in the preparation of some "indigenous" quarterlies, especially for seniors.

In the same way, the two denominations began to publish their various Sunday-school papers coöperatively. Before this time the following papers were published: For young people, *The Pathfinder* (Presbyterian); for seniors, both sexes, ages 15–18, *Onward* (Methodist), *East and West* (Presbyterian); for intermediates, both sexes, *Pleasant Hours* (Methodist), *King's Own* (Presbyterian); for juniors, both sexes, *Playmates* (Methodist); for primary children, *Dewdrop* (Methodist), *Jewels* (Presbyterian).

It will thus be seen that the Presbyterians alone published a paper for young people over eighteen; that the Methodists alone published a paper for juniors, while both denominations published papers for seniors, intermediates, and primary children, without drawing any "sex" distinctions.

In 1921 it was decided to publish the papers for intermediates and juniors coöperatively. The Methodist Book Room did the printing; the Presbyterians adopted the Methodist publication for juniors, *Playmates,* as their own, thus adding a paper for a group which before then they had not served specifically; instead of consolidating the two intermediate papers into one, it was decided to issue both, but to make one a boy's paper and the other a girl's paper. *Pleasant Hours* was thus edited for girls, and *King's Own* for boys. In 1922, the primary papers were consolidated under the name of *Jewels.* The gains effected in this coöperation are obvious. There was a better consideration of the respective interests of boys and girls, and both denominations were able to produce more excellent papers coöperatively than they could have produced separately. After Union, in 1926, the two papers for seniors were consolidated and took the name *Onward. The Pathfinder* continued under its own name. In 1930 *Pleasant Hours* became *The Canadian Girl* and *King's Own* became *The Canadian Boy.* At the same time the format of the paper was changed in each case, the page being made somewhat smaller but the number of pages being increased from four to eight.

Thus one of the effects of coöperation and union on the life of the church was, and is, the improved quality of the Sunday-school publications. Canada is now able to give the children of its Sunday schools papers and quarterlies of a high order and written from a distinctively Canadian point of view, with the values keenly felt by the United Church kept constantly in mind. This is of peculiar significance since the greater facilities for providing children with suitable reading matter have made it necessary for Christian churches everywhere either to raise the standards of their publications or to withdraw from this field.

FORWARD MOVEMENT

After the War, Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians united in a Forward Movement, the aim of which was analogous with that of the Interchurch World Movement in the United States. The results of the Canadian movement were, however, much more satisfactory than in the States. The aims of the Canadian movement were variously stated, but all the participating denominations united in a common drive for more funds. When the three churches came together in 1925 they were able to report the following receipts:

	Expenses	*Pledged*	*Paid in*
Congregationalists	$12,000	136,045	111,733
Methodists	199,824	4,837,513	4,187,236
Presbyterians	154,482	5,242,109	4,198,213
Totals....................	$366,306	10,215,667	8,497,182

It will be seen that 4.3 per cent. of the amount actually collected was used for expenses connected with the raising of the funds. In the allocation of the amounts raised the Methodists gave much more money to their superannuation funds than the Presbyterians, while the Presbyterians provided their board of home missions with two-fifths of the total amount collected. In addition to these amounts, the Anglicans and Baptists also raised similar funds. This type of coöperation, however, was not the outcome of the union movement itself, but rather a quickening of the conscience of the Christian Church as it faced the problems emerging in the post-war period.

It is difficult to exaggerate the far-reaching effects of the various types of coöperation that had been effected within the three churches before 1925 and that had been largely made possible by the expressed intention of the three churches to unite. How far such coöperation could have succeeded without this intention must remain a debatable question. It would seem, however, that the coöperation and publication of Sunday-school periodicals might have been achieved even if Union had not been contemplated; that the coöperation in social-service work might have been carried on quite as effectively with no thought of organic union; that the churches might have arranged some *modus coöperandi* in their work for the non-English-speaking people, especially if they had followed up the expressed willingness of the Baptists to negotiate along these lines; that something, perhaps, might have been done in theological colleges with no thought of organic union, since at least in Montreal and Vancouver the Anglicans have shared in the coöperation among the theological institutions. On the other hand, the assurance of organic union speeded up the coöperative enterprises within the three churches in all these respects, and it is difficult to see under what other conditions the overlapping or competition in small frontier communities could be eliminated and the various charges adequately provided with a trained and competent ministry.

CHAPTER IX

The Struggle to Secure Enabling Legislation

The situation confronting the promoters of church union in the area of law and legislation presented difficulties that may be classified under four heads.

I. Precautions against Future Litigation

As has already been intimated in chapter vii, the decision of the House of Lords in the case of Overtoun vs. The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1904, cast dark shadows on the Canadian problem and suggested to those promoting Union the imperative necessity of proceeding on a basis of "first legislation, then litigation, instead of first litigation, then legislation." The evidence of their circumspection is clearly set forth in the various memoranda on law of the first sub-committees. In the proceedings of the fifth conference, published December, 1908, are contained not alone the documents agreed upon by the Joint Committee on Church Union to be submitted to the respective churches as a possible basis of doctrine and polity, but also a statement on law. Here it is recommended that when the basis of union shall have been agreed upon, the union shall be consummated and the United Church incorporated by a special act of the Parliament of Canada which will provide safeguards

> "in such full and ample manner as to render impossible the existence in connection with the United Church of the conditions which have arisen in Scotland in connection with the United Free Church of Scotland under the decision of the House of Lords, touching its property and doctrine."

In 1924 a counsellor representing the unionists before the Private Bills Committee of the Dominion House of Commons, put the situation quite concisely when he said:

> "What the Church decided to do here at the very earliest case was to have Union, but to have that Union consummated by appropriate legislation, and not get into the position that churches in Scotland got into by having its litigation first and their legislation afterwards."

If the Presbyterian Church in Canada were to unite with the other two churches, it wished to effect the union with a legal recognition of its constitutional right to do so and the legal assurance that it might carry its denominational funds, including trusts and endowments, with it. It did not propose to give any minority "of one"—to use Professor Barker's phrase—or more than one, a stranglehold upon its accumulated resources. Moreover, British legal precedent weighed heavily in general. Had there been in British law any such precedent as that established in the Supreme Court of the United States in the year 1871[1] the situation would have been infinitely simpler. It will be recalled, however, that in giving this decision Justice Miller intimated that the decision was not in harmony with English jurisprudence; and the attorneys for the anti-unionists were able to call attention to a number of important cases in England where the courts had decided in favor of a very rigorous insistence on maintaining the sanctity of trusts to the very letter of their theological implications.

There was, however, one celebrated case which arose within the Anglican communion in South Africa and was carried to the Privy Council in 1882. This involved a dispute between the Bishop of Graham's Town and the Dean and Rector of the Cathedral Church of Saint George, in Graham's Town. The dean had refused to allow the bishop to preach in his church, claiming that in the original trust, the church and its endowments had been set aside for worship according to the Church of England established by law, while the Church of England in South Africa, as constituted at the time of the dispute, was purely a voluntary association, and had made fundamental divergences from the Church of England as by law established in England. The bishop took the matter to the Supreme Court of the Cape of Good Hope, which rendered a decision unfavorable to him. He then appealed the case to the Privy Council, but the Privy Council sustained the decision of the Supreme Court of the Cape of Good Hope on the ground that, while the Church of England in South Africa had accepted as its standards and formularies those established by the Church of England in England, it nevertheless reserved the right of interpretation of these standards and formularies to its own Colonial Synod. This, their Lordships claimed, constituted a divergence from the Church of England as by law established in England, and consequently they admitted their inability to grant the bishop any relief from his intolerable situation. Most significant, however, is the conclusion of their judgment:

> "Their Lordships wished to add their opinion that courts of law cannot settle in any satisfactory way, questions affecting permanent endowments after a total change of circumstances has occurred, and their concurrence with the Chief Justice [i.e., of the Cape of Good Hope] in thinking that the Legislature alone can properly act." (Merriman vs. Williams, 1882. Appeal Cases, Vol. 7, p. 511.)

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[1] For digest of this case see United States Supreme Court Reports, Vol. 80 (13 Wallace, pp. 679–738).

With such precedents determining the attitude of British tribunals in the matter of trusts, it is quite evident that before Union should be consummated, special legislation by Parliament was necessary.

II. Dominion and Provincial Legislation

Another serious difficulty confronting the promoters of church union in Canada was resident in certain fundamental complications in Canadian legal procedure itself. The constitution of Canada was set forth in the British North America Act of 1867, passed by the Imperial Parliament in London, although its principles had been previously formulated in the course of several constitutional conventions. Before this act was passed, there were at least five distinct governments operating within the bounds of what is now Canada—the government of the Canadas, Upper and Lower (now Ontario and Quebec), which had been united in 1840; and separate governments in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Vancouver Island (British Columbia). The Northwest was still under the control of the great trading companies, although their régime was rapidly drawing to its close. The British North America Act formed a confederation of only four provinces, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, other parts of the country being admitted later. To create this federal union, it was necessary to allocate clearly the respective prerogatives of the federal and the four provincial governments. In their deliberations regarding such respective powers, the fathers of confederation were largely influenced by the causes of the Civil War in the United States which had just been concluded, and it was their desire to avoid for all future time any undue assumption of provincial rights beyond those definitely stated in the constitution. Consequently, they reversed the procedure of the framers of the constitution of the United States, and after specifying clearly the exclusive powers of Dominion and provincial legislatures, left with the Dominion government the residuary power "to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Canada in relation to all matters not coming within the class of subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces." (B. N. A. Act, section 91.)

In effecting this allocation of powers, Parliament was compelled not only to recognize the natural desire, on the part of the constituting provinces, for the largest autonomy possible, but also the peculiar privileges which had been vouchsafed to the French-Canadian people by the Quebec Act of 1774. In this act they had been promised security not alone in the practice of the Roman Catholic religion, but also in holding their property, possessions and all their civil rights under their own laws, "until they shall be varied or altered by any ordinances." It was therefore necessary to respect the feelings and suspicions of the French-Canadian majority in the Province of Quebec, and also of the English-speaking and French-speaking, Protestant and Catholic, minorities, in all the provinces. Hence, among other important matters, legislative control over "property and civil rights in the provinces" was left exclusively to the provinces, together with the power of incorporating companies with provincial objects.

Thus, while the Dominion Parliament might, in accordance with its residuary power, incorporate companies with Dominon objects, its power over property and civil rights within the province was denied, although—and this is of more than passing interest—under section 94, the Dominion Parliament was given power to provide "for the uniformity of all or any of the laws relative to property and civil rights in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick subject, however, to the ratification thereof by each and all of the legislatures concerned."[2] In the aftermath of Confederation, certain litigation was necessary before the rights of companies incorporated by the Dominion Parliament and with Dominion objects were definitely understood. One of the most significant Privy Council decisions in this respect was delivered in the case of Dobie vs. Temporalities Board in 1882 dealing with funds originally held for the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland and established in 1855 by an Act of Incorporation passed by the then Province of Canada.

In the light of these complications, the general situation confronting the churches proposing to unite was this: While the denominations might claim their freedom to determine their own affairs and to unite with other bodies as they saw fit without seeking legislative authority of any kind, nevertheless, if they wished to be sure of their ability to carry their property with them into the Union, they would be required to seek enabling legislation to regularize the conveyance of such property to the body in which they proposed to unite. Since, however, much of this property was held by bodies with Dominon charters or incorporation, and controlling practically all of the property owned by the respective denominations as a whole, and since practically all of the local church property was held under provincial legislation of some kind, it would be necessary to seek concurrent and practically identical legislation by both Dominion and provincial parliaments.

The Dominion legislation, as sought, would create the corporation with Dominion objects; define who constituted its membership and who did not; designate its powers; state the possible procedures under which it should act in the light of its corporate nature and genius; indicate what property, including trust funds owned and controlled by bodies previously incorporated by the Dominion itself, it should or might hold; and finally, what provision should equitably be made for the distribution of such properties among any minorities which might not concur in the Union. The Provincial legislatures, on the other hand, would confirm the Dominion Act so far as such confirmation was necessary and provide for the disposal of property owned by local congregations or by denominational bodies operating under provincial rather than Dominion charters. Without such concurrent provincial legislation, the United Church might have become incorporated and made secure in its title to all properties held by previous denominational organizations under Dominion charter, but the relation of the property held under provincial legislation would be unaffected. An anomalous situation would have resulted.

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[2] Note the significance of the omission of Quebec.

III. Ownership of Property

The third legal factor confronting the promoters of Union was in the variety of methods relative to the ownership of property prevailing within the three negotiating denominations respectively.

The Methodist Church, Canada, was incorporated by the Dominion Parliament in 1884, and consequently had a vested or at least a reversionary right in all the property of all its subsidiary organizations. Even the property of all local congregations was to be held, according to the Model Trust Deed, "subject to the rules, disciplines, doctrine, and usage of the Methodist Church." One of the powers granted by its act of incorporation, section 8, was the right to "establish . . . Boards of Trust in accordance with the by-laws, rules or regulations of the corporation; and every such Board, so established, shall be a body corporate, with such membership, organization, powers, rights and duties as are not contrary to law or inconsistent with this Act."

The Presbyterian Church in Canada was a voluntary association, not formally incorporated, and much emphasis has been laid on this point by those opposed to Union. It had, however, established a variety of subsidiary organizations over which it exerted control, in spite of the fact that its "legal entity" or "judicial personality" was not specifically recognized. For example, in the Maritime provinces, one of the major holding incorporations was the Board of the Presbyterian College at Halifax, first established under a provincial charter but later operating also under a Dominion charter. This board held funds not only for the specific purposes of the college, but also for certain larger denominational interests. In addition, there were, among others, a Board of Trustees of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; a Board of Trustees of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Eastern Section; a Board of Trustees of the Century Church and Manse

Fund of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Eastern Section; a Church and Manse Board of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; a Board of Trustees of the Presbytery of Montreal; and a Board for the Management of the Temporalities Fund of the Presbyterian Church *of* Canada (note the name).

In addition to these, one synod was incorporated for the purpose of holding funds administered in connection with the Widows' and Orphans' Fund, and the Presbytery of Miramichi, in New Brunswick, was separately incorporated. Further, not a few local congregations held their property not only under general provincial statutes (such as the Religious Institutions Act of the Province of Ontario, 1826), but also under special acts of incorporation passed by the legislature. In practically all these corporations, however, the property was to be held in trust and to be administered in accordance with the laws and usages of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The unionists, as the controversy waxed warm, replied to the assertion that the Presbyterian Church in Canada had no legal status, "It may not be a formal corporation, but in developing a large number of subsidiary corporrations, which hold funds subject to the laws and usages of this legally non-existing church, it has indirectly been given legal entity."

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES, by reason of their principle of autonomy, were equally diversified in their methods of property-holding. In the early days of the denomination, each congregation held its property in absolute control for itself, and even when these churches became affiliated with each other in unions and associations, they steadily resisted the arrogation of any authority on the part of these unifying "fellowships." Indeed, when the Congregational Union of Ontario was organized in 1853, the mother-church of Congregationalism in Toronto withheld its consent to any participation until it received ample promises that the newly formed union would in no sense be construed as "a court of the church" and would have no power to review proceedings or restrict action in the local church. It was not until 1910 that the Congregational Union of Canada secured incorporation, and this action was made possible by the nation-wide union of Congregationalism in Canada in 1905.

When, however, the Congregationalists established a college at Montreal, in 1864, the college Board secured an act of incorporation from the Parliament of the Province of Canada, and three years later, when Confederation was consummated, this privilege was confirmed in a charter from the Province of Quebec. The corporation consisted of annual subscribers or life members and delegates from churches making a certain minimum contribution to the work of the college. The Union had the right of choosing certain representatives on the Senate, but by and large the corporation itself was self-governing. In 1875 the Canadian Congregational Missionary

Society was incorporated, and this body had an unusual position in the denomination, since in the model trust deeds that were gradually developed, and under which most of the individual churches, perhaps, were held, the missionary society had a reversionary interest in case a local congregation ceased to exist or became identified with another denomination. In the denominational effort between 1905 and 1910 to wipe out all indebtedness on local church property, many local congregations received aid from the central Jubilee Fund raised with the assistance of the Colonial Missionary Society of England and Wales, and in return agreed to hold their property subject to the provisions of the Model Trust Deed with its reversionary clause.

Among other Congregational societies which had effected somewhat similar incorporation were the Congregational Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the Canadian Congregational Foreign Missionary Society, the Montreal Congregational Church Building Society, the Congregational Provident Fund Society, and the Congregational Church Extension Society of Western Canada. There was, in addition, a "paper" college in British Columbia, for which the Congregationalists had secured a charter but which never materialized.

Needless to say, as each of these societies was to a large degree self-governing, the Congregational Union of Canada had to secure their several consents and authorizations before venturing to act officially in its petition to Parliament. Each congregation took a vote and furnished the general secretary of the Congregational Union with certified copies of its vote together with his commission to represent that particular church before Parliament. These authorizations were all prepared, in the interests of simplification, on uniform schedules sent out by the Congregational leaders. In this way, the complete autonomy of the individual churches was clearly recognized, and if yielded in the interests of union, was yielded with free consent. The terms of Union, as has already been pointed out, preserved their cherished autonomy to these churches even after Union should be consummated, and in certain instances they not only reserved their rights but practised them by disposing of their property without consulting anyone outside of their own congregation.[3]

Summarizing, it will thus be seen that property in all the churches was held in a variety of ways and relationships. Denominational property was for the most part held under either Dominion or provincial charters. Local property was held in three ways:

(a) Model trust deeds definitely relating the local church to the denomination.

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[3] Cf. the case of the Congregational Church at Brantford, Ont.

(b) Special acts of incorporation by the province, occasionally enjoining special privileges (e.g., in one New Brunswick Presbyterian church, the right of pewholders to vote at church meetings, was specifically included) but still related to the denomination at large.

(c) Special acts of incorporation by the province, providing for the complete autonomy of the local unit.

IV. PROPERTY OUTSIDE OF CANADA

As the churches had property interests outside of the Dominion, these factors had to be considered. The Methodist Church, Canada, had a definite relationship with the Methodist churches of Newfoundland; hence, legislation in that colony was clearly foreseen. The Presbyterian Church in Canada included a church in Bermuda, and if that church had entered the Union, legislation would probably have been required there. This church did not enter the Union, but a Wesleyan church in Bermuda did seek affiliation with The United Church of Canada and legislation permitting such affiliations had to be obtained from the Bermuda legislature.[4] In addition, each of the three churches sustained missions in foreign countries, but fortunately all of them held their property through boards created locally, and hence in these instances there was no need for special incorporation or for any changes in the method of holding property. Thus, the dangers of a most unfortunate transfer of the quarrel to "heathen" countries was obviated.

These were the four fundamental factors in the general situation which confronted the proponents of church union as they came together to consider the question of ways and means in 1904.

WORK OF THE COMMITTEE ON LAW AND LEGISLATION

The sub-committee on Law was one of the five sub-committees appointed by the three denominations at their first conference on church union held in Knox Church, Toronto, 1904. This sub-committee issued a report, December 20, 1905, which confined itself to the setting-forth very briefly of the legal provisions under which property was held in the three constituent churches respectively, and concluded:

> "Your Committee would recommend generally that should the main purposes and objects of the Union Committee be carried out and the proposed Union effected, appropriate legislation, clearly identifying the several churches and vest-

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[4] These Bermuda churches constituted, before Union, a district in the Methodist Church, Canada.

ing the titles on lines similar to those heretofore obtained from the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches respectively as set forth above, should be sought for from the Dominion Parliament and from the several Provincial Legislatures."

The minutes of the third Conference, held in 1907, contained no further specific report from the sub-committee on Law, although each of the other four sub-committees did report. It would seem evident from this that the committee on Law considered that its work would be confined to generalities until the other committees had reached a point in their coöperative thinking which would make an agreement in regard to a basis of union reasonably certain.

At the fourth conference, held in September, 1907, the sub-committee on Law presented a slightly more elaborated report, criticizing from a legal point of view the report of the sub-committee on Polity, presented at the preceding conference, suggesting a few changes dealing with property as it might be affected by the legislation and urging a greater discrimination in the powers of the general council of the proposed United Church in relation to the limitations of the Barrier Act. It also included a more detailed statement of the procedure to be followed, definitely urging that the United Church should be incorporated by special act of the Parliament of Canada; that the act should ratify and form the Basis of Union as agreed upon; that it should clearly designate the powers of legislation resident in the General Assembly of the United Church, "in such full and ample a manner as to render impossible" any recurrence in Canada of the conditions which followed the Overtoun vs. Free Church decision in England. It recommended further that ample provision should be made for the vesting in the United Church of all trust funds which might "properly be described as denominational property"; that the local church property should be held on trust set forth in a model trust deed as a schedule to the act, and that in the trust deed it should be stated that "no property so held shall be sold, exchanged, or in any manner encumbered unless the Presbytery, District Meeting or Association shall, at the instance of the congregation have given its sanction subject to an appeal if desired to the Annual Conference, Union or Synod," with the exception of local church property, real or personal, held for the benefit of the individual church alone, and in which the denominations as such had no interest, in which case the control of the United Church over this property would be subject entirely to the consent of the local church itself.[5]

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[5] The committee added a note at this point suggesting that in the legislative bill the names of such excepted churches, charges, circuits and congregations be included in a separate schedule in the act. This, however, was deemed superfluous when the bill was actually presented.

The Committee also recommended that special acts of the legislatures of the various provinces of the Dominion and of the colonies of Newfoundland and Bermuda should be obtained, clarifying the relationship of the United Church to the property held in the several areas and concluded:

> "The above recommendations are tentatively submitted as indicating the principles to be followed in the legislation to be obtained necessary to give effect to the Union, but until the reports of all the Committees are put in final form for the consideration of your Committee, this Committee does not deem a fuller statement necessary, nor can any final pronouncement properly be made."

It is desirable to call attention to this statement, since with slight modifications, it remained in the final report of the Joint Committee submitted to the negotiating churches in 1909 for action, and when a vote was taken in these negotiating churches between 1910 and 1915, these suggestions of the committee on Law were set forth in an appendix and given wide publicity, so that every intelligent voter ought to have known substantially the nature of the legislative procedure that was envisaged. It is true that the proposed bill was not formulated in detail until just before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Port Arthur, in 1923, had definitely voted to proceed with the Union and to seek the enabling legislation; but the general form of the legislation was available to all interested parties in 1909, before the vote in the churches was taken, and even as early as 1907.

No further significant steps were taken by the committee between 1910 and 1922, although on December 15, 1914, the Presbyterian Church Union Committee passed the following resolution:

> "That it is expected that in the proposed legislation proper provision be made to guard any rights or privileges of any minority that may be opposed to union."

This resolution was considered at the Joint Union Committee held in the same month and was referred to its committee on Law. It was given wide publicity.

In 1921 the General Assembly authorized the steps necessary to the consummation of Union to be taken. This in reality called for the drafting of the bills to be submitted to Parliament. Consequently, in 1922 the Presbyterian Church Union Committee sought further legal advice. The two counsellors of the Presbyterian Church of Canada[6] prepared a significant memorandum for counsel as to "the legal status of, and legislative requirements as to the Presbyterian Church in Canada." This document was prepared because the final decision of the church, taken at Port Arthur

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[6] One of these later remained with those who did not concur in the Union, and became their representative on the Ontario Property Commission.

General Assembly the following year, was imminent. For this reason and for others, it is of peculiar interest since it contains, *inter alia,* the following paragraphs:

"The legal status of the Presbyterian Church and its funds and colleges, and the legal procedure to be followed if the union now under consideration is to be carried into effect, have been considered. It may be stated as a definite principle that whatever is decided upon as a basis of union can be effectively consummated by legislation of the Parliament of Canada, and of the Legislatures of the Provinces, and with the necessary enabling enactments there will be no room for a judicial inquiry as to loss of identity as in the Free Church Case (General Assembly of Free Church of Scotland vs. Lord Overtoun, 1904, (A. C. 515). The legal procedure to be followed is clearly indicated by Lord Watson in the Temporalities Fund of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, in connection with the Church of Scotland (1882), 7 App. Cas. 136). In the course of the judgment delivered by him on behalf of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, holding ultra vires the statute of Canada as to the Temporalities Fund, he says (p. 46): 'There is really no practical limit as to the authority of a supreme legislature except the lack of executive power to enforce its enactments. But the Legislature of Quebec is not supreme; at all events it can only assert its supremacy within those limits which have been assigned to it by the Act of 1867 (The British North America Act). The powers conferred by this section (129) upon the provincial legislatures of Ontario and Quebec to repeal and alter the statutes of the old parliament of the Province of Canada, are made precisely co-extensive with the powers of direct legislation with which these bodies are invested by the other clauses of the Act of 1867.' It is evident, therefore, that to repeal or alter the *provisions of general application* in the statutes of Canada dealing with the funds and colleges of the Presbyterian Church, legislation of the Parliament of Canada will be required, while as to property and civil rights within each Province, the legislative assistance of each Province will be necessary. There will have to be then, as pointed out in the Basis of Union, an Act of the Parliament of Canada, incorporating and providing for the government of the new organization, conferring receptive powers upon it, and dealing specifically with the funds and institutions under the legislative control of Canada, and in each Province, a confirmatory enactment with all proper provisions for the vesting of property within the Province, and the exercise within the Province of civil rights.

"But before legislation can be drafted the basis upon which the funds of the Church and the colleges under its control are to be dealt with, must be definitely decided upon. As to congregational property, there is no special difficulty; each congregation can decide for itself the question of union or no union, and of course, will have that right; but as to the division, if any, of the general funds and the colleges, there is much more difficulty. The mere general statement that proper provision is to be made to guard the rights or privileges of any minority which may be opposed to union, is not sufficient foundation for the working out of the concrete legislation.

> "There are in the constituting instruments of some of the colleges, very definite obligations as to the standards of theology and church government to be adhered to. A departure in some respects from these standards may possibly be involved in the carrying out of the proposed union and while that result will not necessarily be a bar to the obtaining of the desired legislation, the position in this respect is important in deciding as to the basis of division.
>
> "If Union can be proceeded with and there should be a minority not desirous of entering the new organization, it will, given fair and generous treatment to that minority, in all probability be possible to obtain the necessary legislation; with unfair and ungenerous treatment by the majority, the application for the alteration in status will almost invariably fail."

The Presbyterian Church in Canada was thus fully apprised of the difficulties in the situation, and knew the dangers. It realized clearly that legislation alone could provide the necessary security for the conveyance of its trust funds into the United Church, and provision for the equities of non-concurring congregations was not alone probably just in itself, but also possibly a *sine qua non* of the possibility of securing the needed legislation. This corroborated the recommendations proposed fifteen years earlier by the sub-committee on Law and Legislation of the Joint Union Committee.

THE DRAFTING OF THE BILLS

Prior to the meeting of the Presbyterian General Assembly at Port Arthur, the Joint Committee on Law and Legislation secured the services as counsel of an outstanding corporation lawyer and an outstanding authority on constitutional law[7] and instructed them to draft suitable bills. They did this, submitting the same to the sub-committee September 22, 1922. The sub-committee gave the draft careful consideration and suggested some slight modifications in the text, both of the draft and of the letter from counsel which accompanied it, and when these had been revised, both documents were presented to the Joint Union Committee, and approved. A study of the documents both in their original and in their amended form is rewarding, since certain items that had given counsel reason for thought are indicated.

One of these items mentioned related to the liability of the United Church for debts of the local congregation. Here counsel recommended that the United Church as a whole should not be held responsible for debts contracted by a local congregation, since, to quote the accompanying letter in its original form before revision, "certain congregations . . . may have incurred debts and obligations much in excess of the value of their property and in such cases the United Church might fairly object to assuming a burden greater than any benefit it might obtain."

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[7] The one was a Methodist and the other an Anglican.

A second point brought out clearly in their accompanying letter points out that the United Church, being a corporate body, is given further powers by the legislation to create bodies corporate without further legislation. This power undoubtedly facilitates action within the church and avoids the confusion of multiple corporations with powers variously defined.

A third point (Section 12 of the accompanying letter) referred to the inclusion of provision for the first meeting of the General Council. This was obviously necessary, inasmuch as the representatives to the Council, according to the Church Polity agreed upon, called for representation from conferences; but as the boundaries of conferences and synods and associations were not identical, it was necessary to designate representatives to the initial gathering, and these were to be selected by the higher bodies of the former Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches respectively, in a given ratio.

A fourth point dealt with the special provisions in regard to non-concurring congregations. These provisions had been based on similar legislation in 1875, necessitated by the creation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and in conformity with the resolution of the Presbyterian Union Committee, on December 15, 1914, to include in the proposed legislation proper provision for the rights or privileges of any minority which might be opposed to Union. In the rough outline of the proposed bill, which had been approved by the committee on law and legislation in 1909, there is no hint whatever of this safeguarding legislation. Its incorporation was due to the sentiment of a strong minority against Union, and was made with the hope that all the parties would find the provisions equitable and satisfactory. These provisions, therefore, deserve careful study.

The framers of the bill suggested that, after the passing of the act, congregations which disapproved of Union might withdraw by a majority of votes of the members,[8] and in such cases the property of the local congregation would remain unaffected by the bill. Provision was also made for the appointment of a commission to determine what share in the equity of the properties owned by the denomination at large should be given to the non-concurring congregations, although in the printed draft of the proposed bill, it was stated that the non-concurring congregations should have no equity in the general property of the church unless the total number of such congregations contained a minimum proportion of all the churches in the denominations. The committee, however, feeling either that such a provision was unfair or else that it might arouse only greater opposition, entirely eliminated this provision from the original draft.

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[8] This provision meant that the whole church went into the Union, but that later congregations might withdraw after a vote. The provision was not contained in the original draft submitted by counsel, and was ardently opposed by the non-concurrents on the ground that they did not want to be forced in, and then allowed to vote out. They wanted to stay out from the beginning. In the end, this provision was modified so that non-concurring congregations could vote prior to the consummation of Union their intention not to enter the United Church.

Still another significant deviation from the advice of counsel was made by the committee before it approved the draft. Counsel had originally proposed that congregations which had voted out of the Union might have the privilege of reconsideration at a later time and of voting concurrence. In making this recommendation, however, they advised that such a privilege, while fully recognized, should be limited since if the denominational property were divided between the United Church and these non-concurring congregations on a proportionate basis, "a dissenting congregation might not be able [i.e., on reconsidering and applying for admission into the United Church] to bring to the United Church that proportion of its general property which had been withdrawn from the United Church by reason of its dissent." Counsel added, "in any event the consent of the United Church should be a condition to any such entry." The committee, however, did not accept this recommendation of council, and consequently the proposed bill included the provision that any non-concurring congregation might take a second vote, and if this were favorable, would be received into the United Church.[9] This decision is significant, since it later created a situation to which reference must be made when the Saltsprings Case, heard before the Privy Council in London, in 1930, is considered.

With these modifications the bill proposed by counsel was accepted, printed and published, and it was this bill that the members of the Presbyterian General Assembly had before them at Port Arthur in 1923 when the Assembly voted to proceed to the consummation of Union "upon terms of the draft bills herewith presented, which are hereby approved as to principle and form." This Assembly also empowered its Committee on Church Union

> "to use its best efforts by amendment of the proposed legislation or otherwise (*consistently with the principle of the general form of the legislation as approved by the Assembly*) to maintain the unity of the church, or if that is impossible, then to reach a satisfactory agreement with the minority in reference to the name and status of the non-concurring congregations and division of denominational

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[9] The Dominion act, as finally passed, did not contain the provision for a second vote; some of the provincial acts did, however, include it. The provision was opposed by most of the non-concurrents since it would leave the "way open for endless agitation and unrest."

property and rights of the Presbyterian Church in Canada without recourse, as far as possible, to the Commission referred to in the said legislation."

The publication of the draft legislation, together with the decision of the Port Arthur General Assembly to proceed to the consummation of Union and to seek the enabling legislation to do so, naturally created the greatest excitement in ecclesiastical circles in Canada. Every detail of the draft was minutely inspected and attention was directed, by those opposed to Union at any price, to every possible interpretation of the bill which suggested "coercion." A dissent filed at the Port Arthur General Assembly contained three "whereases" dealing with the draft legislation which represent the general line of attack of those opposed to the Union. These were:

> "Whereas draft legislation has been submitted by the Union Committee which proposes coercion of the people and confiscation of trusts and endowments held by and for the Presbyterian Church in Canada in trust for the maintenance of the standards as set forth in the Basis of Union of 1875,
>
> "And whereas this proposed Bill which is now one of the chief conditions of Union was not then known [that is, in 1911 and 1915 when the membership of the churches voted on the "Basis"] and has never been submitted to the membership of the Church for their judgment,
>
> "Whereas the legal enforcement of this Bill would mean the disruption of our own Church, the weakening and breaking up of congregations everywhere by the withdrawal of minorities on both sides and would result in disaster to the great mission work of our Church, etc., etc."

As one analyzes current literature of this period of the controversy it becomes clear that the fundamental issue at stake was not the distribution of property, however important that might be, but rather the larger question whether a church of a connexional character and bound by certain beliefs had the power to unite with other churches not governed in the identical manner or professing allegiance to identical standards. In short, there seems to be evidence that those opposed to Union were perfectly willing to make a distribution of property with the majority on condition that the Presbyterian Church in Canada as a whole did not formally go into the Union, and that those who remained behind were recognized as entitled to the status, prerogatives and privileges of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. On this point, however, the unionists refused to yield. To them a principle was at stake, and that principle involved the right of any communion, acting in accordance with its own genius and principles of procedure, to modify its standards and, as a corporate body, to merge with another denomination. This right was emphatically asserted by the Assembly in its formal reply to the dissent filed by the non-concurrents, which claimed

> "That the prevailing party in this General Assembly, by reason of their illegal action as aforesaid, have subverted this Assembly and have thereby in effect seceded from the Presbyterian Church in Canada."

In the formal reply of the Assembly this sentence occurs:

> "The Assembly cannot admit or recognize any protest which challenges its undoubted right to take, in common with the other negotiating churches, such action as it may think advisable in order to make indisputably valid the resolve of three great churches to enter into a Union which is believed to be in furtherance of the purpose for which the Church of Christ exists."

The Appeal to Caesar

The decision of the General Assembly threw the anti-unionists back on their last line of defence, namely, the Houses of Parliament, and the year 1923-1924 was characterized by the most intense organization of the forces both for and against the Union and by the first efforts of the unionists to secure the enabling legislation in the provinces and in the Dominion.

A significant step was taken by those opposed to the Union on January 25, 1924, when twenty-nine individuals claiming to be "ministers, elders and members of the Presbyterian Church in Canada," issued a writ and statement of claim in the Supreme Court of Ontario against the *individual members* of the Presbyterian Committee on Church Union, praying "an injunction restraining the defendants from purporting to act as the agents or authorized representatives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada for any of the purposes aforesaid"—i.e., prosecuting further negotiations towards Union or petitioning the Parliament to pass legislation.

The preamble to the statement included 117 articles, many of which set forth alternately differences in the Westminster Confession of Faith and the proposed Basis of Union. The defendants consequently were forced to file their individual replies, but the case itself was never brought to trial, and it is believed by some that the statement was issued in the hope of delaying procedure in Parliament on the ground that the points at issue were in process of litigation and, consequently, Parliament should refrain from action until the points involved in the litigation were settled. Whatever the intent, this statement was so drawn by the attorneys for those opposed to Union, and was referred to at length by one of them when he presented the case of the anti-unionists before the Private Bills Committee of the House of Commons on May 6, 1924, when he said:

> "Well, where are we now with this action? We immediately joined issue as soon as all the defences were in, on the 17th day of March, and that action is

ready for trial, and upon the list for that purpose at Toronto, and is ready to be tried at any time we can be heard before the Courts.

"Now, I have filed with the Clerk the certified copy of the statement of the case, which shows that the whole matter was commenced almost immediately after the application to Parliament was made. The action was taken by some twenty-nine gentlemen who are named there—members, ministers and elders of the Church in different places, all of them in Ontario because we did not wish to be delayed in furnishing security for costs. The forty defendants are the forty persons named as a Special Committee to prosecute and, if possible, to obtain this or some other legislation."

The unionists regarded this writ and statement of claim—especially the more or less parallel doctrinal references which it contained dealing with Predestination, Free Will and Effectual Calling, in chapters iii, ix, and x of the Westminster Confession—as definitely helping their cause and published an edition of 1,000 without comment.

This threat of pending litigation, however, did not prevent Parliament and the provincial legislatures from considering the proposed bill. There is undoubted evidence that the Church Union Committee decided, in view of threatened difficulties in securing action by the Dominion Parliament, to seek first legislation in those provinces where they were more certain of immediate success. A victory there naturally tended to exert pressure on the Dominion Parliament and the other provincial legislatures which had not passed the desired measures.

The following Legislatures were the first to pass the enabling act: Manitoba, March 13, 1924; Saskatchewan, March 25, 1924; Alberta, April 12, 1924; New Brunswick, April 17, 1924; Nova Scotia, May 9, 1924.

The Ontario Legislature, however, suggested certain fundamental changes in the bill which were so unacceptable to the unionists that they withdrew the bill entirely. To them the most objectionable clause was:

> "The non-concurring congregations of the negotiating churches shall respectively be deemed to continue to exist and to constitute the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Methodist Church, and the Congregational Churches of Canada, as the case may be, for all purposes to which the legislative jurisdiction of this Province extends, including the same rights and powers with respect to property real and personal, as were heretofore had and enjoyed in Ontario by the said churches respectively, and every congregation of the negotiating churches shall have the right at a meeting of the congregation held within six months after the coming into force of this section, to decide by a majority of votes of the persons present at such meeting and entitled to vote thereat whether it shall concur in the Union and become a part of The United Church of Canada or remain as theretofore." (April 9, 1924.)

This the unionists refused to accept, asserting that such an amendment would "destroy the central principle of the bill." They consequently withdrew it, deciding to try their strength first in the Dominion Parliament. In doing so, the Joint Union Committee issued a public statement in which they challenged the attempted course of the Ontario government on four counts:

1. While the provincial authority over civil rights was admitted, "the Provinces cannot determine that Dominion-wide churches shall not unite."
2. The proposed amendments by the Ontario government destroy the central provision of the bill, i.e., that the three churches are uniting; it insists on the contrary that the churches are not uniting.
3. It deprives the three churches of their right of self-determination.
4. The amendment would also deprive the churches of their spiritual freedom.

The following are some of the more important reasons which are commonly given as explaining the unwillingness of the Ontario Legislature to meet the unionist conditions:

1. Anti-unionism was stronger in Ontario than in any of the other provinces, as the vote taken during the subsequent year definitely revealed.
2. Of a population in Ontario of 1,451,772, according to the census of 1921, the dominant religious preferences indicated were as follows: Anglicans, 320,867; Methodists, 344,004; Presbyterians, 306,851; Roman Catholics, 279,083. To offset the large number of Methodists, it might be assumed that the Presbyterian group was badly split, while the Anglicans and Roman Catholics were generally reported as for the most part sympathetic with the anti-unionists.
3. The government of Ontario was at this time taking the first steps towards the repeal of the Prohibition laws (Ontario Liquor Act) passed during the War, and substituting therefor government control of the liquor traffic. In this endeavor they met with the usual opposition from the Prohibitionists, the most aggressive unit of which was, possibly, the Methodist body. Hence they were not disposed to put themselves out unduly to create a "new" denomination which might become a dominant "religio-political" factor. Indeed, the politically minded may have realized that if the church forces were kept busily engaged in internecine conflict they would be proportionately unable to exert any great influence in preventing the change from Prohibition to government control.
4. The religious complexion of the Private Bills Committee of the Ontario Legislature was a follows: Anglicans, 24; Presbyterians, 22; Methodists, 19; Roman Catholics, 9; Lutherans, 1; Unclassified, 1.

The Declaratory Provisions

The fact that the controversy so largely involved the right of the church to amend or modify its standards led, at this period of the discussion, to a further inclusion in the proposed Dominion bill, which formed Section 28 of the act when finally passed. This section is as follows:

"28. Notwithstanding anything in this Act contained, it is hereby declared:

"(a) That the said union of the negotiating churches has been formed by the free and independent action of the said churches through their governing bodies and in accordance with their respective constitutions, and that this Act has been passed at the request of the said churches in order to incorporate the United Church and to make necessary provision with respect to the property of the negotiating churches and the other matters dealt with by this Act.

"(b) That nothing in this Act contained shall be deemed to limit the independent and exclusive right and power of The United Church to legislate in all matters concerning its doctrine, worship, discipline and government, including therein the right and power from time to time to frame, adopt, alter, change, add to or modify its laws, subordinate standards and formulas and to determine and declare the same or any of them, but subject to the conditions and safeguards in that behalf contained in the Basis of Union.

"(c) That the United Church by virtue of its independent and exclusive right and power to legislate in respect of the matters mentioned in the next preceding subsection has the right to unite with any other church or religious denomination without loss of its identity upon such terms as it may find to be consistent with the principles, doctrines and religious standards set forth in the Basis of Union, or any amendment thereof made by the General Council under the provisions of the Basis of Union."

This change was undoubtedly suggested by the Act Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland in Matters Spiritual, passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1921 to enable the Church of Scotland to proceed to union with the United Free and other churches; but the most significant part of the Canadian declaration was not in its "retroactive" features, but in its provisions for perfect freedom in negotiating further unions in the future. It must be obvious that, from a legal point of view, there is a fundamental difference between the situation in Scotland, where there was and is a recognized relationship, however tenuous, between Church and State, and that in Canada, where no state recognition of any church is anywhere implied. Where a church receives special privileges or recognition from the state, the state has surely some right to assent to, or dissent from, a proposed change in the basic ecclesiastical laws regarding doctrine, unless it has definitely waived this right and recognized the complete autonomy of the church in spiritual matters by appropriate legislation as it did in the case of the Church of Scotland in the Declaratory Act.[10] In Canada, on the contrary, the concern of the state was more properly limited to an examination of the proposed Basis of Union:

(a) To make sure that the church to be incorporated did not propose to act contrary to public policy (i.e., against public morals or in behalf of sedition).

(b) To make sure that the churches had resolved to seek incorporation, by their "own free and independent action" and "in accordance with their respective constitutions."

(c) To allocate the control of all trusts and provide suitable equities for a substantial minority which might be unwilling to concur in the general change of policy.

(d) To register the extent and limitations of the powers of the corporation in accordance with the usual precautions governing the incorporation of such bodies.

(e) To lift any barriers to the proposed action which might be resident in previous legislative decisions relative to any of the bodies concerned.

It is unfortunate that in the heated argument involving legal rights and spiritual liberty in Canada, both sides were perhaps too inclined to look for guidance to precedents in the mother country, where the existence of a state church created a different background for the respective contentions. Nevertheless, it was clear that if litigation followed legislation in Canada, the final court of appeal would be the Privy Council in England, where English and Scottish precedents would naturally receive great consideration. Americans will be advised to remember this and not judge the legal possibilities in similar situations in the United States by either Scottish or Canadian precedents.

The unionists thus wrote their creed of spiritual liberty into the proposed bill, and before the Private Bills Committee of the House of Commons there was some vigorous insistence in speeches by their champions on the fact that the church creates the creed, and not the creed the church; and that the reformed churches antedated the Westminster Confession:

> "The Church of Scotland was founded in 1560, and did not adopt the Westminster Confession of Faith until 1647. During that interval it subscribed to another subordinate standard known as the Scottish Confession, or the Confession of Knox. By the Action of the Assembly in 1647, the Scottish Confession was superseded by the adoption of the Westminster Confession as the subordinate standard of the Church. I raise this question: when did the Presbyterian Church lose the power which it claimed and used in 1647? There is no question that it possessed the power to change its standards at that date, and, as no one Assembly can take action which binds future Assemblies, it would be inter-

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[10] The Scottish Parliament in 1690 had decreed that the Westminster Confession of Faith should be the subordinate standard of the Church of Scotland. Only the Declaratory Act of 1921 left the Church of Scotland completely free to legislate regarding its own faith.

esting to know when this Church lost its power over its subordinate standards? When did the subordinate become insubordinate?" [11]

The Presbyterian Church in Canada had as its emblem the burning bush, and beneath it the legend, "*Nec Tamen Consumebatur.*" In arguments before the Private Bills Committee, the unionists strenuously insisted that their church was a "living tree" and not a "dead branch"; that if, as the decision in the Overton case intimated, "while the bond of union in such a church may contain a power in some recognized body to control, alter or modify the tenets or principles at one time professed by the community, the existence of such a power must be proved," then, such powers had been granted to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in Rules 112, 120 and 121, under the Barrier Act; that, on at least two occasions the doctrine of the church had been so modified, viz., the sections of the Westminster Confession dealing with the powers of the civil magistrate and the prohibition of the right to marry a deceased wife's sister; and finally, that the decision to seek union had been reached by the General Assembly according to the terms of its own constitution as thus stated. While, however, some called attention to the fact that the assembly of divines which prepared the Westminster Confession of Faith was "an interdenominational body" of Anglicans, Congregationalists and Presbyterians, no one seems to have urged the "intention" of the divines as opposed to the "letter" of the Confession. Yet this intention is clearly stated in the words of the Solemn League and Covenant which was taken by the divines and members of the House of Commons in a joint session at Westminster, September, 1643, when they pledged themselves to

> "endeavor to bring the Churches of God in the *three* kingdoms to the *nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion* Confessing of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship and Catechising; that we, & our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us."

The aim of the Westminster divines—and the group included Anglicans and Congregationalists as well as Presbyterians—when they revised the creed of the reformed churches was, to some extent at least, the drawing together of certain of the churches of Christendom. "Intention" might have weighed heavily with the legal mind, but it was not urged.

THE STRUGGLE AT OTTAWA

The scene finally shifted to the Dominion Parliament, where was staged the great ecclesiastical battle of the century so far as Canada is concerned.

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[11] From the address of Rev. E. Leslie Pidgeon, D.D., before the Private Bills Committee of the House of Commons.

Due notice of application for legislation, dated December 7, 1923, was filed in the *Gazette*. The bill was introduced by a member of the Progressive party representing a western constituency, who was himself identified with a local union church.[12] On March 11, 1924, the anti-unionists through counsel notified the House of alleged technical disqualifications in the petition for the bill, notably, that it had not been adequately advertised, while protests from private groups of anti-unionists were periodically tabled in the House. Consequently, these objections were considered by the Standing Orders Committee where one of the counsel for the unionists, referring to the widespread and intense discussion which was being carried on on the subject all over Canada, said: "Those who do not know of Church Union now will never know of it."

Precedents in similar publicity were presented, some of which referred to legislation passed at the request of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1882. On April 8, the Standing Orders Committee rejected the objections that had been raised and decided to report the petition for the bill to the House. This automatically carried with it the first reading, so that the bill was now placed on the order for a second reading. The bill then went before the Private Bills Committee for consideration, and this committee held a public hearing which began on April 30 and concluded on May 9. A stenographic report of this hearing, filling 807 typewritten folio sheets, was fortunately made by the unionists and was available for the use of the director of this study.

While the hearing was being held church leaders flocked to the capital where for six weeks the issue was fought out, first in the committee and then in the House. It is obviously not within the scope of this report to describe the proceedings or to recount the various thrusts and sallies. A newspaper reporter wrote of the proceedings: "One felt that a new Gibbon was needed to give this historic occasion its full historic value." It is of more than passing significance that the counsel on both sides included outstanding French-Canadian lawyers, who not only made some of the most effective speeches but also were most crushing in their logic.[13] There was some parleying on theological matters, and certain shrewd efforts were made to hold the sympathy of the French-Canadian members who, for the most part, were somewhat desultory in their attendance at the meetings, probably feeling that an inter-Protestant dispute of this magnitude was something upon which they had best keep a discreet silence. There were occasional touches of humor, when a bright and pointed story brought relief to the charged atmosphere. There was the presentation of various bodies of data, some of it correct enough in general but challengeable in detail; but for the most part the arguments came down to a question of law, the rights of the General Assembly and the rights of Parliament, and what constituted a square deal for those who wanted to go into the Union and for those who wished the contrary.

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[12] At this time, the anti-unionists believed that the Liberal government would not pass the bill. The government was, however, dependent upon the support not only of the French-Canadian Roman Catholics but also of the new Progressive party which had its greatest strength in the West. The Progressives were strongly in favor of church union, and towards the end of the debate the French-Canadian Roman Catholics were conspicuous by their absence.

[13] Eugene Lafleur, of Huguenot descent, represented the non-concurrents. Aimé Geoffrion, a Roman Catholic, was retained by the Church Union Committee. Both addresses were unusually brilliant. That of Mr. Lafleur is perhaps the most formidable statement of the legal position of the non-concurrents delivered at the time. The unionists had, however, been able to anticipate the general course of his argument, having received some advance information concerning it, and Rev. E. Leslie Pidgeon, D.D., who preceded Mr. Lafleur, really directed his argument to a refutation of Mr. Lafleur's position.

The religious complexion of the committee was as follows: Presbyterians, 21; Roman Catholics, 22; Anglicans, 8; Methodists, 8; Congregationalists, 3; Other denominations, 3.

It will thus be seen that if religious affiliations were to weigh heavily with the members of the committee, the odds were possibly against the unionists. Finally, on May 21, 1924, one of the members moved to amend the preamble of the bill as follows:

> "Provided that this Act shall not come into force until and unless,
>
> "1. The Courts shall have finally decided that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada had the constitutional power to form a Union of the Presbyterian Church in Canada with the Methodist and Congregational Churches upon the terms of this Act.
>
> "2. The Court shall have finally decided that the Parliament of Canada can constitutionally enact this Act in whole or in part, and if the Court shall decide that this Act is constitutional only in part, then it shall come into force only as to such parts as are declared constitutional.
>
> "Provided further that the whole question shall be submitted to the Supreme Court of Canada by a reference by the Minister of Justice of Canada."

This Duff Amendment (so named after its proponent) was carried in the committee 27-23, fourteen members being absent. The religious affiliations of the fifty voting, divided by "Yeas" and "Nays" were as follows:

	Yeas	Nays
Roman Catholics	13	1
Presbyterians	11	8
Methodists	..	6
Anglicans	2	4
Baptists	..	1
Congregationalists	..	3
Church of Christ	1	..
Total	27	23

The unionists attacked this amendment vigorously and their committee on Law and Legislation issued a public statement claiming that they had asked Parliament for legislation and had been offered litigation. They declared that the postponement of a decision might continue the controversy for years, with serious consequences to the inner life of their churches; and that the minority was seeking to have this amendment incorporated in a bill that gave them large rights to the denominational property, so that in case the decision of the Supreme Court went against them, they would still have their rights to the property safeguarded by the law, while without such a safeguard an adverse decision would mean that the non-concurring Presbyterians could make no claim to the property whatever. On the other hand, they held that, if the decision of the Supreme Court was favorable to the anti-unionist minority, there would only be a repetition of the circumstances in the Imperial Parliament in 1905, when Parliament, on being petitioned, granted the United Free Church the relief from the unsatisfactory decision of the Privy Council in the famous Overtoun Case. In short, Parliament would have to pass the bill, sooner or later. This statement also called attention to the fact that the bill had, even then, been passed in six legislatures,[14] and further, that the anti-unionists had already taken the case to court by issuing the Statement of Claim in the Supreme Court of Ontario against the individual members of the Presbyterian Church Union Committee, but "there is nothing in the proceedings, apart from the bare setting down of the action for trial, to indicate that the plaintiffs mean to proceed with the litigation."

A few days later a member of the Private Bills Committee, who had formerly been a Congregational minister, moved to reconsider the amendment. This motion to reconsider was lost, which meant that the struggle in this respect was transferred to the floor of the House. The Private Bills Committee continued to consider additions and subtractions. The more important of these dealt with the provisions for the vote. Finally, on June 24, the bill as amended was presented to the House. Many church gatherings, conferences, synods and assemblies, etc., were in session at this time, and petitions and telegrams were flooding the members of Parliament, warning dire consequences if the amendment were not withdrawn. On June 24 Mr. Brown of Lisgar, Manitoba, who had previously moved in the Private Bills Committee to reconsider, now moved in the House that the Duff Amendment be deleted. The movement to delete was carried on June 26 by a committee vote of 110-58. Later the Prime Minister, the

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[14] In addition to the legislatures of the provinces mentioned on page 259, the bill had been passed by the House in Prince Edward Island, but the Lieutenant Governor withheld the Royal Assent thereto, until instructed by the Governor-General to give his assent.

Honorable W. L. Mackenzie-King, proposed as a compromise that the bill be allowed to pass with the following paragraph inserted at its close:

> "Inasmuch as questions have arisen and may arise as to the powers of the Parliament of Canada under the British North America Act, it is hereby declared that it is intended by this Act to sanction the provisions therein contained in so far and in so far only as it is competent to the Parliament so to do."

In the voting the Prime Minister and the senior member of the Cabinet took opposite sides; the French bloc was also divided. It only remained to pass the bill, which was done. One of the strongest speeches in Parliament, in its support, was that delivered by the Leader of the Opposition, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen. So far as the House of Commons was concerned, the church union fight was ended.

The bill was now presented to the Canadian Senate and much of the old straw was threshed. An effort was made to refer the whole bill to the Special Committee and further effort to abolish Clause 6 on the ground that this was a distinct interference with the vested rights of minorities. Both these amendments, however, were defeated in the Senate and only a slight change was made in the provision regarding voting. The bill was then passed, and received the Royal Assent on the 19th of July. The act was to come in force on June 10, 1925, except the provisions for the taking of the vote, which were to come into force December 10, 1924.

Thus ended in the Dominion Parliament one of the greatest struggles in Canadian history. The unionists had achieved their objective; the anti-unionists had secured the recognition of a doubt in the concluding section of the act of the power of Parliament to pass any such legislation at all. This, however, threw the responsibility of carrying the matter to the Privy Council upon those who were opposed to the Union, and so far no such appeal has been made. The United Church of Canada, however, did, as will be pointed out later, appeal a decision in the Supreme Court of Canada relative to the status of a small church at Saltsprings, Nova Scotia, to the Privy Council, who heard the case and gave a famous decision, June 23, 1931. In this particular instance the Privy Council decided against The United Church of Canada, and declared the Saltsprings congregation to be a non-concurring congregation. The question at issue related to the respective powers of Dominion and provincial legislation, and in asserting the supremacy of the Dominion legislation on the particular point at issue, the Privy Council indirectly put its approval upon the rights of both Dominion and provinces to legislate in this matter, and no question was raised in this supreme tribunal of the British Empire as to the fundamental rights of Parliament. The act as drawn seems to cover all possible contingencies.

The fight was not yet over, however, for the Royal Assent was still needed for the bill in Prince Edward Island, and no bills had yet been passed by the legislatures of British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec. The passing of the Dominion Act created a situation where, if these other provinces had failed to take proper action an anomalous situation would have resulted. These provinces eventually passed acts on the following dates: British Columbia, December 19, 1924; Prince Edward Island, April 9, 1925; Ontario, April 9, 1925; Quebec, March 24, 1926.

The difficulties in British Columbia were eventually overcome. In Prince Edward Island the Governor at first withheld assent to the act but gave it a year later when an amendment to the act was passed creating a commission to divide property between majorities and minorities and giving larger powers to such commission than were permitted in any of the other provinces. To these powers reference must be made in the chapter on "The Division of Property." In Ontario the bitterness still continued, and while the anti-unionists were not successful in changing the fundamental principle of the bill, they did succeed in two major respects.

In the first place the Ontario legislation as finally passed went farther than the Dominion legislation, stating:

> "In the case of non-concurring congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, their property on and after June 10, 1925, shall stand in the same relation to the church to be formed by such non-concurring congregations as it stood to the Presbyterian Church in Canada before the passage of this Act."

In the second place, the real property of Knox College was definitely ceded to the non-concurring congregations, although provision was made that it should be used jointly by both groups for a period of not more than three years. The charter of the college and the endowments, were, however, left to the disposal of the Dominion Commission, since Knox operated under both provincial and Dominion charters and the province could not act within its power in such matters. The act stated that the property of Knox, with certain stated exceptions, should be vested in three gentlemen whose names were mentioned as "Trustees for the Church of the non-concurring congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Canada."

The first of these amendments gives legal recognition to an organization for whose existence no legal provision has been made. At this point the legislature walked by faith and not by sight. As the voting in the churches had not yet been completed, it was impossible to indicate exactly what churches were non-concurring and what were not. There were some intimations, moreover, that certain of the churches in Ontario opposed to Union planned to remain independent, but the act as finally passed "coerced" them into the church of the non-concurring congregations, "to be formed" in the problematical future. Thus there was no situation in Ontario similar to that in Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia, where non-concurring congregations did actually remain independent and where one such church at least continues to remain independent.[15]

That the provincial legislation as finally passed, in spite of its concessions, still left the non-concurring congregations in an anomalous legal situation, is evidenced in a report submitted to their own General Assembly in 1927 by the committee on Property. This report pointed out that the Ontario Act contained a repeal clause stating that "all acts or portions of Acts of the legislature of this Province, inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, are hereby repealed in so far as may be necessary to give full effect to this Act." The committee maintains that, according to this clause, "the effect of this repeal probably is that the Ontario Statutes of 1874 and 1900 . . . . are no longer in force and as they contain important provisions relating to congregational property, it leaves the law in an incomplete and unsatisfactory condition."

The Ontario legislators, however, had to do something. The Dominion Act had already been passed and the Ontario Act might have contained no reference to any proposed organization of non-concurring congregations, and allowed the non-concurring churches perfect freedom to effect a new organization or not, after which they might have sought enabling legislation of their own. But this would probably have been unsatisfactory to them, since it would plainly have labelled them as a secessionist group, forming a new organization; and this was precisely what they wished to avoid. Moreover, if they asked for legislation and incorporation, the question of the name would have to be settled, and while the Dominion Act permitted them to constitute themselves "a Presbyterian Church" and to designate themselves by "any name other than those of the negotiating churches as set forth in the Preamble to this Act," the last phrase by implication made it impossible for them to seek legislation in the name of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Thus, the legislation remains in an anomalous state, so far as the non-concurring churches are concerned, while they continue to call themselves "The Presbyterian Church in Canada," and to refer to their meetings of the General Assembly as the "Fifty-seventh" General Assembly, while individual churches built by minority groups place upon their cornerstones the date of the founding of the church from which they separated.

In respect to the cession of Knox College, unionist leaders believe that the anti-unionists desired to obtain possession of the outstanding theological college of the church, with a magnificent property immediately adjacent to the campus of the University of Toronto, not only because of the traditions of Knox, but also for strategic reasons, since, if they succeeded in obtaining this property, it would have a psychological effect upon the churches which had not finally taken their vote. Whatever the motive, the Attorney General of the province was notified by the attorney for the anti-unionists, immediately prior to the first public hearing of the bill in 1925, that if provision were made whereby the non-concurring congregations might be awarded Knox College, they would withdraw their opposition to the passing of the legislation. This consequently became the basis of further conferences, and the unionists finally decided to yield Knox in order to avoid further barriers to legislation that might be put up by an unfriendly House.

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[15] Weyburn and Melfort in Saskatchewan remained independent for two years; Eureka, N. S., is still independent.

The attitude of the Quebec legislature was complicated by other obvious factors. The Quebec legislature was, of course, overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, and however individual members might feel in regard to a Protestant merger they decided to take their cue from the decision of the Ontario government. If Ontario, where Protestants were overwhelmingly dominant, passed favorable legislation, they too could do so without fear of unfavorable criticism; if, on the other hand, Ontario refused, why should Quebec seek to take sides in what was essentially a Protestant quarrel? The Quebec bill followed in general the Ontario laws, and as Ontario had given the property of the Knox College to the non-concurring congregations, so the Quebec act gave the property of the Presbyterian College of Montreal to the same group. There were two significant additions in the Quebec legislation. One of these was occasioned by the fact that in that province registers of civil status are kept by clergymen and ministers (all baptisms must be reported to the proper authorities in the province), and consequently this act empowered the clergymen of both the united and the non-concurring congregations to keep these registers. A second clause provided that the American Presbyterian Church in Montreal should be recognized as an integral part of The United Church of Canada. This church had been formed in 1820 as a result of a difference of opinion between the Scotch and the American members of St. Andrew's Church in the selection of a minister from Scotland or one from the United States. The American Presbyterian Church had never become part of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, but was connected rather with the New York Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

With the passing of the act in Quebec all the provinces had provided the concurrent legislation to give effect to the Dominion Act, and everything was ready for the consummation of Union on June 10, 1925. There were, however, certain differences between the text of the Dominion and the provincial acts, some of which were to cause no little trouble in the future.

The most significant of these related to the method of voting. In certain provinces the vote might be taken at any regularly constituted meeting of which due notice had been given, and the method of taking the vote was left to the discretion of the membership. The Dominion Act, on the other hand, provided that the vote, if taken at all, should be taken by ballot and that not less than two weeks should be allowed for the taking of a ballot vote. However, "in any Province where by an Act of the Legislature respecting The United Church of Canada passed prior to the passing of this Act, a different qualification for voting has been prescribed, the qualification for voting under this section shall be as provided in such Act."

This provision affected the situation in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Another difference resided in the fact that in certain provinces a church which had voted not to concur in the Union might at a later meeting reconsider its decision and vote concurrence. This section, however, was not included in the Dominion legislation and in the famous Saltsprings case the Privy Council of Great Britain decided that the Dominion legislation was on this point supreme, since it alone could determine the constituent membership of the incorporation called The United Church of Canada.

Certain difficulties which arose as a result of differences between Dominion and provincial legislation must be considered in later chapters. Further, necessary laws were obtained in Newfoundland, on May 20, 1926, and in Bermuda, July 28, 1930. This legislation concerned only Methodist churches, and was secured without trouble.

CHAPTER X

The Consummation of Union

DENOMINATIONAL REACTIONS

The securing of the enabling legislation brought peace of mind to leaders in all three denominations, and it created no internal disturbance in either the Congregational or the Methodist churches.

Congregationalists

In the Congregational churches all voting had been done immediately prior to the petition for legislation, and all but approximately seven churches —four in the East and three Swedish Congregational churches in the West —had authorized the Congregational Union to speak for them in the petition to Parliament.

One Toronto church, however, which had approved the Union, changed its mind before Union was actually consummated and decided to stay out. In this decision two factors seem to have played important parts. In the first place, a meeting of the Toronto District Association of Congregational churches had been called to meet in this church; when the program was announced it included an address by a Methodist minister and journalist, widely known as a gallant but somewhat uncompromising radical in both his theology and his social views. The particular church objected to his presence on the occasion, and arrangements had to be made to hold the meetings elsewhere. In the second place, the man who was acting as minister of the church had never been ordained. He was not long out from England, where he had been engaged in religious work, but he could produce no certificate of ordination. He was consequently advised by the secretary of the Congregational Union to take a special reading course in the Congregational College in order that he might meet the requirements of the church for its ordinands. This he refused to do, and the denominational officials therefore declined to ordain him. His influence subsequently was exerted against the entrance of this church into Union. The Congregational officials sought, however, to keep all the other churches in line, so that there would be the fewest possible absentees when the final roll was called.

Methodists

All was quiet on the Methodist front, although the irritation caused by both the delay of the Presbyterians and the "whispering campaign" carried on in certain quarters created, on the part of a few, the desire to take advantage of the provisions in the law which enabled any congregation belonging to any of the negotiating bodies to vote non-concurrence. The Methodist leaders, however, were able to preserve the unity of their church unimpaired, and consequently in no single Methodist church was a vote taken.

Presbyterians

Both Congregational and Methodist ministers, however, pooled their resources to assist Presbyterian unionists, who now had on their hands the fight of a lifetime. So far as the Presbyterian Church in Canada was concerned, the securing of the enabling legislation, while no little triumph in itself, had simply raised the battle-cry, "to your tents, O Israel." There had been some demand in 1920 for the taking of a third vote before application was formally made to Parliament for legislation, but this was successfully discouraged by the unionist leaders, nor for that matter was it particularly demanded by the majority of the non-concurrent leaders.

The unionist leaders maintained that the church had already acted in accordance with its own genius and the majority in favor of Union in the presbyteries was not only overwhelming, but a large popular majority had already been registered in the two plebiscites. Further, while no General Assembly can commit a successor, unless in the meantime some overt act in line with a given decision has been carried out, in this case the decision of the Assembly had been already acted upon, at least in part. The resolutions of the General Assembly at Winnipeg in 1916, committing the church to Union, had provided (sections 8 and 9), "to the better furtherance of this end," for definite coöperative measures in western Canada and New Ontario. This coöperation had taken place on a large scale, and situations had been created which could not possibly be reversed. Therefore, no reconsideration of this decision was possible, vote or no vote.

Moreover, the unionist leaders contended that the issue between the two parties in the church could not be resolved by any number of new plebiscites. So long as a considerable number of those opposed to Union denied the authority of any General Assembly to consummate a union in the face of a "minority of one," there could be no clearing of the issue by another vote. The only course, in their opinion, was to go "full steam ahead," leaving local congregations the option of staying out and receiving a share in the general church property.

The motives of the non-concurrents opposed to another vote are more difficult to analyze, since they tended to ignore this issue rather than to define their reasons for opposing it. They may possibly have felt that a third vote, taken when the people had been duly apprised of the legislation to be sought, would only result, especially in view of the situation in the West, in another popular majority for Union, and that consequently they would be no better off than before. At all events, the anomaly in the situation remains, namely, the Presbyterian Church in Canada as a whole was going into Union under the terms of the United Church of Canada Act; at the same time it was quite possible, although not probable, for every individual congregation in the Presbyterian Church to vote non-concurrence in the Union and to claim its reasonable equity in the denominational funds.

So, when the enabling legislation had been obtained, every Presbyterian church in the Dominion felt the menace of the coming vote. The legislation provided that if a vote were not taken the congregation would go into the Union automatically. Hence unionist leaders in many congregations sought to prevent the taking of a vote which they knew might disrupt their congregations and the issue of which would be uncertain. The organizers of the Presbyterian Church Association, on the other hand, bent their energies not only to organizing opposition in every synod, presbytery and local congregation, but also to forcing a vote in case the minister and the session of the church were unwilling that one should be taken. Presbyterian procedure provided that a certain number of the members of any church might sign a requisition calling for a meeting of the church to consider a stated matter, and the acts of Parliament made the use of such a requisition beyond question in the matter under consideration. Instances, however, are on record where ministers and sessions resorted to various subterfuges to avoid the calling of such meetings, and this only increased the bitterness. The Dominion Act stated that a meeting might be held at which the congregation might decide if it wished to take a vote; then, if a vote were to be taken, it must be conducted over a period of at least two weeks and before June 10, 1925. In one instance in Ontario the minister, acting on the advice of his session, accepted the requisition but called the meeting for one of the last days in May when, under the terms of the act, it would be too late to hold a vote. In another western town, the minister became conveniently sick at the last moment and went away under doctor's orders, so that a thorny problem arose as to the correct procedure in calling or moderating at the meeting which was being demanded.

Many ministers, moreover, did not wish to commit themselves one way or the other, but pressure was brought—and usually successfully—by both parties to force them to take a stand and to bide by the consequences. As will be pointed out later in our consideration of the problem in the ministry following the consummation of Union, at least 187 unionist ministers in churches which had voted non-concurrence lost their pulpits, and a few non-concurrent ministers in churches that voted for Union were also forced to resign. It was a difficult time for those who wished to walk softly.

Difficulties of the Ballot

Long before the actual balloting began, and in some cases before the enabling legislation had been secured, certain churches arranged for the presentation of the arguments for and against Union in their respective churches. This presentation sometimes took the form of a debate, while sometimes there were two meetings, one entirely devoted to arguments in favor of Union and the other to arguments against it. The methods used in setting up these meetings reflected quite frequently the attitude of the minister or session, and it was not always possible to keep the discussion on high levels of principles uninterrupted by sallies against outstanding national or local personalities. In connection with these early presentations of the arguments for and against Union, a straw ballot was taken in certain instances, which may or may not have had influence in determining the subsequent official vote of the church. The use of the straw ballot was encouraged in a good many churches in the East which were reputed to be strongly against Union, and immediate and wide publicity was given to the results of such adverse voting.

Confusion Between Dominion and Provincial Acts

There were also difficulties in determining how the vote should be taken and who were entitled to vote. The Dominion Act provided:

1. That the vote should be taken by ballot.
2. That the opportunity for voting in each congregation should be provided over a period of at least two weeks, so that everyone who was entitled to vote might have little if any excuse for not finding a convenient hour for registering his attitude.
3. That those entitled to vote should be all those on the full membership of the church on July 9, 1924 (that is, at the time of the passing of the Act), except

"in any Province where, by an Act of the Legislature, respecting The United Church of Canada passed prior to the passing of this Act, a different qualification for voting has been prescribed, the qualification for voting under this section shall be as provided in such Act; in every other Province the persons so entitled to vote shall be those who by the constitution of the congregation if so provided or by the practice of the Church with which they are connected are entitled to vote at a meeting of the congregation on matters affecting the disposal of property."

This last exception affected the *qualifications* of voters in five provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but it did *not* necessarily affect the *prescribed method*. A church might therefore vote non-concurrence under the terms of either the Dominion or Provincial Act. There are instances where churches took two votes—one under the Provincial Act and one under the Dominion Act. Thus, at Stonewall, Manitoba, it was claimed that the vote under the Federal Act was 30 to 34 against Union, while the vote under the Provincial Act was 27 to 21 in favor of Union. Again, at Hartney, Manitoba, a vote under the Federal Act was claimed as resulting in a vote of 49 to 46 in favor of Union, while the anti-unionists claimed that a vote under the Provincial Act resulted in 0 to 37 against Union, the unionists in this latter instance obviously refusing to vote. In such situations the anomalies of Canadian constitutional law, which leaves the control of property rights within the provinces to the provinces themselves, are clearly seen, and the director of this study prefers to leave the disentanglement of such a situation to the Privy Council, for which purpose their Lordships were brought into the world.

The Dominion Act could not affect the control of the local congregational property, but only the congregation's share in the denominational property; the Provincial Act could not affect the control of the congregation's share in the denominational property but only the control of the local congregational property. Of course, if a church took no vote under the Dominion Act and yet voted concurrence under the Provincial Act, its share in the denominational property at large would naturally pass into the hands of the United Church by default; but if it took no vote under the Dominion Act and voted non-concurrence under a Provincial Act, could it claim its share in the denominational property, provision for which was made only in the Dominion Act? The very existence of such a situation is ludicrous, and it complicated or might have complicated the procedure of the Dominion Property Commission which was called upon to decide the equities of the non-concurring churches in the denominational property.

The authorized time for beginning the period of the taking of the vote, which might continue for six months, differed in the various provinces, under the provincial acts, as follows.

In Saskatchewan and Alberta on December 10, 1924.
In British Columbia on December 19, 1924.

In Prince Edward Island on March 31, 1925.
In Ontario on April 9, 1925.
In Manitoba, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on June 10, 1925.

Thus, in three provinces no voting was attempted under the Dominion Act, except in an occasional church, until The United Church of Canada had been formally inaugurated. By that time the results of the voting in some of the other provinces, notably Ontario, where anti-unionism was most strong, were generally known. Still, in the last analysis these provinces which were most belated in taking their vote showed a strong majority in favor of Union.

Not only was the vote taken at different times in different parts of the Dominion, but certain provincial acts permitted a deviation from the ballot voting as authorized by the Dominion legislation. The methods of voting in the various provinces were as follows:

In Manitoba, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the vote might be taken at a meeting of the congregation regularly called according to the rules of the church.

In Saskatchewan and Alberta congregations were given the option of voting by ballot or show of hands.

In Ontario and Prince Edward Island the vote was to be taken by ballot for a period of at least two weeks.

In British Columbia the vote was to be taken "by secret ballot" for a period of at least two weeks.

Counting the Votes

This diversity in the method of taking the vote is responsible for the inability of The United Church of Canada and the continuing Presbyterian Church to reach an agreement concerning the final outcome of the vote. The tendency on the part of the leaders of the continuing Presbyterian Church is to consider only the results obtained where voting was conducted by ballot and where consequently the exact character of the vote can be more truly determined. On this assumption they claim that while 114,000 votes were cast against Union, only approximately 113,000 were cast in favor of Union. Such a reckoning, however, ignores the fact that in a large number of churches in Saskatchewan, Alberta and Manitoba a vote was taken at a meeting of the congregation, sometimes called at the close of the morning service, the issue being decided by a show of hands in which the majority almost invariably voted for Union. The unionists contend that the votes at such meetings should be added to the total vote, and certainly such voting was authorized by a number of the provincial legislatures. In addition to this, a large number of the smaller churches did not call for a vote for and against Union, but passed a resolution to which no adverse votes are reported, deciding unanimously to take no vote, but to enter The United Church of Canada. Here again the unionists maintain that in such situations the whole membership of the church may properly be considered as voting in favor of Union.

Qualifications of Voters

Further differences related to the qualifications of persons for voting. The Dominion Act stated that all voters under the terms of that act should be persons in full membership of the church on the date of the passing of the act, July 19, 1924. In general these provisions were incorporated into the provincial acts passed in British Columbia, Ontario and Prince Edward Island. On the other hand, in Alberta and Saskatchewan, the qualified voters were persons in full membership in the churches concerned on December 10, 1924; qualification in Manitoba and New Brunswick was limited to persons in full membership on June 10, 1925, while in Nova Scotia it was limited to all those who at the time the meeting of the congregation for the purpose was held were recognized by the constitution of the local church as entitled to vote.

In some instances there was some dispute over the right of adherents to vote, since the constitutions of certain local churches gave pewholders an inalienable right to vote on all matters affecting the disposition of property. On account, however, of rather irregular methods in keeping the roll of membership, it was not even easy to decide who, in any particular church and on any particular date, were or were not in full membership.

According to the Rules and Procedure of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the rolls of the individual churches should have been revised annually.[1] As a matter of fact the required revision was sometimes neglected, and even when made the names of those who had moved to other communities or who had habitually absented themselves from the communion were placed on a reserve roll, so that such persons could, on asking for letters of demission, secure them without difficulty. In such instances, however, these names were sometimes ticked with red ink, indicating that they were on the reserve roll and not definitely struck out. The question naturally arose whether or not people on the reserve roll were entitled to vote, and this issue led in not a few cases to legal action. In dealing with one of these cases the chairman of the Ontario Property Commission gave it as his opinion that there could be no purgatorial state in which a person was and was not, at the same time, a member of a given church. He must either be a member or not be a member, and if his name were on the reserve roll then he must be considered for legal purposes a member of the church in question and so entitled to vote. In a great many churches, however, a sub-committee, consisting of both unionists and non-concurrents, revised the roll jointly and agreed on those who were entitled to vote. In at least one instance trouble arose, however, even when such a local agreement had been reached. Never before had the Presbyterian churches in Canada realized the importance of keeping the rolls thoroughly purged, for when the time came for the balloting, people appeared to record their franchise who had not graced the precincts of the sanctuary for years, and their demand for a vote could not well be refused.

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[1] "The roll of communicants is revised at least once a year and more especially before application is made for moderation in a call to a minister." *Presbyterian Blue Book,* Section 62.

Some Minor Troubles

Again, what did "voting by ballot" mean? A special committee of the church sent out a notice that a congregation might decide for itself whether ballots were to be signed or unsigned, and there was much argumentation on this point. A good many congregations took their vote by signed ballot, and in certain cases this procedure was afterwards challenged by non-concurrent minorities on the ground that a ballot is used for the sake of secrecy. A majority of the members of the Ontario Property Commission, in dealing with appeals on this point, affirmed that the signed ballot was invalid since a recourse to the dictionary indicated that secrecy was ordinarily the *sine qua non* of a ballot vote, although the chairman of the commission did not concur in this decision.

Still another difficulty arose in a more limited number of cases. Each congregation was entitled by the legislation to a separate vote, but in certain instances, where two or more congregations were served by a single minister, a single ballot box was used, which was taken from congregation to congregation, i.e., the congregation in a given field voted as a unit. This also was later deemed illegal, although it is obvious that where the central church in such a field voted one way and a small congregation which was only a preaching station voted another, confusion resulted.

Another difficulty! In the transitional period of coöperation, Presbyterian and Methodist congregations had merged and were worshipping together. In such instances there was sometimes only one roll, sometimes two and sometimes three, the third representing persons who joined the coöperative church after the local merger had been effected and did not care to be classified as either Methodists or Presbyterians. In a few of these churches, the Presbyterian group demanded a vote. In some cases, when the vote was taken, the members of the coöperative church voted without any distinction. An appeal was later taken to the Ontario Property Commission that the groups should have voted separately, and on the whole these appeals were sustained, except where it was obvious that even if they had voted separately no appreciable difference in the results would have been indicated. But fifteen Presbyterian parts of coöperative congregations, with a total known membership of 291, or fewer than twenty to each part of a congregation, did take a separate vote and decided not to concur in the Union by an aggregate vote of 54 to 219. In these instances the work of coöperation was undone, often in absurdly small places.

Finally, in some instances, churches voted, or thought they had voted, to remain completely independent. One church in Nova Scotia, Ferrona, thus voted neither to concur in the Union nor to belong to the continuing Presbyterian Church. This still remains independent, securing its ministers from the United Church and the continuing Presbyterian Church in rotation. Three churches voted likewise in Ontario—Pittsburg, Jarvis and Walpole—only to discover that by the terms of the provincial act they had no choice but to enter the continuing Presbyterian Church. Three churches voted to be independent in Saskatchewan, and remained so for a considerable time, when they decided by another vote to join the continuing church. A small church in Valcartier took similar action, but later, under the Quebec Act, voted into the Union. The aggregate membership of these eight churches was 887.

Typical Voting Procedure

The general procedure in the individual congregation prior to the taking of the vote may be gathered from the following, used in the Bloor St. Church, Toronto.

At a congregational meeting it was decided to take a vote and a motion was passed covering the following items:

1. The wording of the ballot.
2. Whether the ballot should only be marked or also signed.
3. The days and hours when the poll should be opened.
4. The names of poll-clerk and his deputies.
5. Nature of ballot-box and means of marking off the names of those who had voted.
6. Provisions for scrutineers consisting of unionists and anti-unionists.
7. Possessions of ballots, both those used and those deposited in the ballot-boxes, which were to be kept sealed and locked when not in use during the entire period of the voting.
8. Provision for counting the ballots, and the number of scrutineers to be present at such counting.
9. Further possession of the ballots for a period fixed by the session after the voting had ceased.

10. Appointment of special committee to deal with all cases of dispute which arise during the voting, and consisting of representatives of unionists and anti-unionists.
11. Provisions for announcement of the vote and proper recording of the same in the congregational meeting.

Where a session hesitated to summon a meeting to consider the question of taking a vote, the anti-unionist minority would, if sufficiently strong, prepare a requisition signed by the proper number of members and hand it to the moderator of the church, who was then under obligation to call the meeting.

SUMMARY OF THE BALLOT

It was a period of bitter controversy and divided congregations. Church union brought not peace but a sword, and literally divided families as well as congregations. Because of the disputes, later settled or never settled, over the taking of the vote, it is difficult to offer an adequate summary of the results, but the figures in Table XIII, based on official returns, are submitted as substantially correct.

TABLE XIII—RESULTS OF BALLOT ON UNION, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

	Total Membership	*Vote for Union*	*Vote Against Union*
Non-concurring churches	143,870	32,352	78,781
Concurring churches	241,134	119,870	35,517
Voting by ballot	*185,560*	*90,614**	*35,517*
" " resolution	*29,256*	*29,256*	......
Entering Union by default	*26,318*	......	......
Total	385,004	152,222	114,298

* This figure included churches voting by ballot, under the provisions of either Dominion or provincial unions. It is quite impossible, in the opinion of the Director, to ignore the vote by ballot taken in various western churches at congregational meetings, even though they did not conform to the requirements of the Dominion Act.

If one were to add together the total votes by ballot, it would result in 122,966 to 114,298 in favor of Union. If the total membership of churches voting to enter the United Church by resolution is included, this brings the vote in favor of Union to 152,222, as in Table XIII. If, in addition, the total membership of churches entering Union by default is added, the grand total of votes in favor of Union is 178,630. In view of previous statements, however, such an inclusion is resisted by those opposed to Union.

When the returns were in, the Bureau of Literature and Information of the Joint Commission issued an official statement relative to the respective strength of the United Church of Canada and the non-concurring churches, which included the tabulations given in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV—NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF FORMER CONGREGATIONAL, METHODIST AND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, BY CONGREGATIONS

Province or Colony	Congregational Total	Congregational Non-concurring	Methodist Total	Methodist Non-concurring	Presbyterian Total	Presbyterian Non-concurring	Total Congregations	Congregations Uniting June 10, 1925
Nova Scotia	15	..	343	All Concurred	358	83	716	633
New Brunswick	7	..	263		203	29	473	444
Prince Edward Island	..	..	68		73	24	141	117
Trinidad	..	..	..		115	..	115	115
New Foundland	..	..	334		...	..	334	334
Quebec	26	..	458		211	52	695	643
Ontario	64	5	1,683		1,280	492	3,027	2,530
Manitoba	4	..	319		437	14	760	746
Saskatchewan	27	..	513		876	22	1,416	1,394
Alberta	24	3	550		572	40	1,146	1,103
British Columbia	4	..	266		387	28	657	629
Total	171	8	4,797		4,512	784	9,480	8,688

It must, however, be remembered that in the Presbyterian Church the percentage of self-sustaining charges that refused concurrence in the Union was higher than the percentage of aid-receiving charges. It is not possible to establish exact percentages because in many instances a part of a charge or field voted differently from the other parts, and when so isolated might or might not be subsequently regarded as self-sustaining. If, however, we accept a table which treats the congregations of all kinds as individual units, classifying them under their original status as parts of self-sustaining or aid-receiving fields, then Table XV will indicate the general character of the result.

TABLE XV—VOTE OF PRESBYTERIAN CONGREGATIONS, BY STATUS OF FIELDS

Vote	Number of Congregations Self-sustaining	Aid-receiving	Total
Union	1,412	2,316	3,728
Non-concurrence	534	250	784
Total	1,946	2,566	4,512

It will thus be seen that more than one-fourth of all congregations in self-sustaining charges did not enter the Union—and these included many of the larger churches—while more than nine-tenths of all aid-receiving churches entered the Union to challenge the continued generosity of its membership. Again, while the number of congregations in self-sustaining fields that entered the United Church represented only 37.7 per cent. of all congregations entering Union, the number of congregations in self-sustaining fields that voted non-concurrence represented more than 68.1 per cent. of the total number of congregations voting non-concurrence.

Unfortunately, the Presbyterian Church in Canada did not regularly take an inventory of the total value of local church property, together with the indebtedness of the same, and it is consequently impossible to state with any accuracy the relative value of the local church property which entered the Union and of that which did not. In 1921, however, most of the churches did report figures of this character, although some churches greatly underestimated their resources and many omitted to mention them entirely. According to this computation, however, it is possible to make an approximate estimate of the value of the local church property affected by the vote in 1925. The director of this study believes that the local church property held for the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1925 would be fairly evaluated at approximately $38,645,000, of which at least $14,100,000 or 38.7 per cent. would be attributed to churches which voted non-concurrence. The significance of these facts is clear enough; if the maintenance of home-mission fields, without undue disturbance of the status quo at the time of Union, is to be considered of prime importance, then the net result of the vote was that the proportion of the aggregate current assets of the three uniting churches, in relation to their aggregate current liabilities, was diminished; in short, to use military terms, The United Church of Canada was forced on a diminished base to maintain an undiminished front.

On the other hand, it must be stated that in a great many towns where there existed but one Methodist and one Presbyterian church, and in which the Presbyterian church voted non-concurrence, the net result was the loss of substantial unionist minorities who went over to the Methodist church, and to the extent of this loss, the hardship of the continuing Presbyterian churches was also increased. A more detailed analysis of these difficulties must, however, be reserved for the chapters in the third part of this report, dealing with community adjustments and the growth of the two churches.

Lessons from Experience

It is impossible not to recognize tragic features for all concerned in the outcome, and naturally one turns to see where some fundamental defect in procedure had led to such an unfortunate dénouement.

Were a similar move for church union to develop elsewhere, and an active minority to obtain the right of voting non-concurrence in the proposed amalgamation, it would seem a much saner policy to give the individual congregations the opportunity of expressing their wish before the enabling legislation was sought and to make a popular vote in the particular congregation in favor of Union binding upon that congregation. In other words, a congregation which thus expressed itself as favoring the Union should be considered as authorizing the committee of the General Assembly to seek the enabling legislation, not only on behalf of the church in general, but on behalf of that congregation in particular.

In the taking of such a vote it should of course be recognized that efforts to secure legislation or to proceed to the consummation of Union would only be made if approved by a certain majority of all the congregations and of the entire membership of the church. If such majorities were obtained, not only would the steps proposed be taken, but also the legislation secured would provide for a fresh vote to be taken by the non-concurrent element to determine whether or not it would yield to the wishes of the majority. As it was, while the Presbyterian Church in Canada, in conducting its plebiscite in 1915, had placed upon the ballots the significant words,

> "N. B. The people are reminded that the decision on this question must be reached on the decision of the votes cast,"

it did nothing to bind the congregations showing a majority in favor of Union to what would seem to be the logical and legal consequences of their vote. To this extent the vote itself lacked "teeth." Had such conditions been enforced and a vote equally favorable to the Union ensued, the Presbyterian Church in Canada would have straightway proceeded to consummate the Union, instead of passing a resolution committing the church to Union but leaving the time of such consummation indefinite. It must, of course, be remembered that this vote was taken in 1915, when Canada was at war, and that prompt action following the vote and the consummation of Union in wartime might possibly have been effected under unfavorable circumstances. On the other hand, certain spiritual forces had been released by the War, and the common brotherhood of sacrifice and sorrow might have greatly assisted in welding the three churches into one. Speculation on this point, however, is rather vain.

Looking back on the whole procedure, the following criticisms might be well taken:

1. The movement from its inception among the leaders should have been paralleled by an educational movement aiming at mutual understanding and appreciation on the part of both leaders and the rank and file of the membership.

2. Before taking the second vote in the Presbyterian churches in 1915, the proposed enabling legislation should have been drafted in reasonable detail and the rights of non-concurrents should have been definitely stated.

3. Again, before taking the vote in 1915 it should have been made clear that should such vote issue in a substantial majority of congregations, presbyteries and membership in favor of Union, not only would the church at large proceed immediately to the consummation of Union, but *the vote in*

an individual congregation approving Union would bind that individual congregation at least to follow the mother church. This, to be sure, sounds like Congregational procedure, but if the rights of congregations to express their opinions on issues of this character are to be recognized, then such congregations should also be required to accept the responsibility for their opinions when once expressed. What is more, with such a procedure, the legislators who are asked to pass the legal measures have a clear understanding of the exact extent to which the legislation sought is actually desired. As it was, they might be excused for their doubts concerning the legislation they were asked to pass when the last popular votes had been taken nearly ten years before. Such a course is fair neither to the legislators in the state, nor to the officials in the church. Congregationalists and Methodists had voted to unite, but beyond a purpose to unite with a hypothetical entity known as the Presbyterian Church in Canada (whose legal entity was challenged), they did not know exactly with *whom* they were to unite until the last vote had been cast.

4. Provision might have been made at the same time that in case the outcome of the vote warranted the church at large in proceeding to Union, churches that had voted non-concurrence might have an opportunity, if they so desired, of reconsidering their vote.

5. There should have been fewer variations between provincial and Dominion acts.[2] Important variations are perhaps inevitable where concurrent legislation of this character is needed and where constitutional procedure itself is so hazy, but had the Presbyterian petitioners to Parliament been able to speak with greater exactitude as to whom they actually represented, the political quibbles that darkened the issues would probably have never arisen, and consequently, the provincial acts would have been not only concurrent, but also practically identical, with the Dominion Act.

6. Throughout the entire campaign a higher spiritual level might have been reached had the urge been less the economic motif of "saving men and money," however valid such a motif was, but rather one of greater effectiveness in testifying to fundamental Christian truth.

As it was, the delay of nearly nine years between the commitment of the Presbyterian Church to Union in 1916 at Winnipeg, and the actual consummation of Union in 1925, kept the controversy alive, while the indecisiveness really strengthened the opposition. Thus, it was made clear that the principles stated by John Foster in his famous essay on "Decision of Character" are as applicable to institutions as to individuals, and that a course of vacillation and indecisiveness is as harmful to a church as to a person. Repeatedly, unionist leaders in the Presbyterian Church in Canada stated to the director of this study that they had erred in hesitating to act in accordance with the political genius of their church. One of the outstanding ministers in the country put it very forcibly when he said:

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[2] The variations between Dominion and Provincial acts are undoubtedly due to the policy, already mentioned in chapter ix, page 259 followed by the Unionists in seeking to secure their legislation, first in the provinces and afterwards in the Federal Parliament.

> "An individual has his own genius and when he ventures to thwart the course of that genius, he invites inner confusion; so too a church has its own genius and its own proper procedure, and when it hesitates to act in accordance with that genius and in terms of that procedure, it also invites confusion."

One may thoroughly sympathize with the desire of the Presbyterian unionists to leave no stone unturned to preserve the unity of their church, and so to bring their undiminished strength into the United Church; to make every concession possible except that of yielding the fundamental principle of the enterprise; to do nothing which the later historian might judge as dictatorial and unchristian; and above all, to avoid the sorry consequences of the union of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Churches in Scotland in 1902. Still, even a sympathetic appreciation of their difficulties can not conceal the truth that Christian diplomacy must never be interpreted in terms of irresolution. If men set their hands to the plough and look back, danger is imminent.

The Last Steps Before Inauguration

Dominion and Provincial acts alike came into force on June 10, 1925, and though the voting was still to take place in some of the provinces, preparations were made for the formal inauguration of The United Church of Canada on that day. The delegates to the First General Council had been chosen directly by the denominations and included representatives of the Council of Local Union Churches. Before the auspicious day dawned, the Congregational Union had held its last session in the Bond Street Church, Toronto, June 8–9, heard reports, transacted final business, by special resolution authorized the executive to continue in office and to take all steps necessary for the consummation of Union, and the chairman and secretary (one or either of them) to sign such documents as were necessary on that occasion. It had also transmitted a final letter of gratitude to the Congregational Union of England and Wales for repeated assistance and counsel, and had approved the formal declaration to be used by its chairman at the inaugural service in stating the authority whereby the Congregational Churches of Canada entered The United Church of Canada. The last regular General Conference of the Methodist Church had been held in 1922. A special gathering was called which met in Toronto, June 9th, to approve similar action in respect to that church.

Meanwhile, the various annual conferences had met to dispose of their routine business.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church assembled in College Street Church, Toronto, June 3–9. On June 8, it expressed the appreciation of the long service of Dr. Ephraim Scott as editor of *The Presbyterian Record* and relieved him of his duties. It also appointed its representatives to the First General Council, and passed a resolution that the debit balance of the church union expense fund be included in the proposed appeal for the United Church maintenance and extension fund. On June 9, answers to the dissent from the finding of the Assembly re Union were presented, after which the following resolution was adopted:

> "Resolved, that when this Assembly adjourns this afternoon it do adjourn to meet in College Street Presbyterian Church at the hour of nine o'clock in the morning, on Wednesday, the twenty-fourth day of June, 1925, unless in the meantime its rights, privileges, authorities and powers shall have ceased under the terms of Section 22(a) of The United Church of Canada Act 14–15, George V, Chapter 100, which Act gives effect to the Union formed by the free and independent action of the negotiating churches"—

"it being well understood that its rights would cease and that the adjourned meeting would not take place."[3]

Dr. Ephraim Scott, in his book *Church Union in Canada,* says that at this point a protest against such adjournment, "with its object of blotting out the Presbyterian Church, and a claim of right by seventy-nine members of that Assembly (forty is a quorum) to continue in session as the same Assembly of the same Church, was handed to the Moderator and permission asked to read a copy of it to the Assembly. This was refused, but lengthy addresses in opposition to that protest were permitted and loudly cheered." To continue in Dr. Scott's words:

> "When the Moderator pronounced the benediction and declared the Assembly closed, the seventy-nine loyal members immediately chose one of their number, an ex-moderator, to preside, and, amid the thunders of the organ,[4] which blared its loudest to drown the proceedings, the Assembly was reconstituted with prayer, and then adjourned to meet at 11.45 that same night in Knox Church."

These two versions of the proceedings are important for later developments.

The Inauguration

On June 10, the inaugural services were held in the Arena, the largest building in Toronto available for such a service, and holding eight thousand people. The order of service had been carefully worked out by a committee of men who had a rare *flair* for liturgical art and was most beautifully printed in a two-colored booklet of forty pages. Three hundred and fifty laymen—elders, stewards and deacons—had been mobilized to assist in the communion service. There was no organ in the Arena, and the music was led by a large orchestra and a choir of two hundred and fifty picked voices, under the leadership of Dr. H. A. Fricker, the conductor of the world-famous Mendelssohn Choir of Toronto. The official delegates of the three denominations met at a designated place and entered the hall in three different "streams" singing the processional hymn "The Church's One Foundation." The service that followed was divided into four parts:

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[3] Quoted from *The New Outlook,* June 17, 1925.

[4] The organ was playing the Hallelujah Chorus.

(a) A Period of General Devotion, Praise and Intercession.
(b) The Hallowing of Church Union.
(c) Declaration of Church Union, with prayer constituting the General Council of the United Church.
(d) The Holy Communion.

A careful study of this service would well repay any who have the responsibility of planning a similar gathering. The hymns were purposefully selected to represent the contributions of various denominations—Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, Anglican and Moravian—to the hymnody of the Church Catholic; so, too, the collects were drawn from the Book of Common Prayer, the Book of Common Order (Presbyterian) and the Book of Congregational Worship, while some prayers were especially composed for the occasion.

In that part of the ritual dealing with the hallowing of Church Union, the representatives of the various churches concisely expressed the special contributions of their denominations to the United Church in the manifestation of the spirit, thus:

Presbyterian: "In vigilance for Christ's kirk and covenant, in care for the spread of education and devotion to sacred learning."
Congregational: "In the liberty of prophesying, the love of spiritual freedom and the enforcement of civic justice."
Methodist: "In evangelical zeal and human redemption, the testimony of spiritual experience, and the ministry of sacred song."
Local Union: "In the furtherance of community-life within the Kingdom of God."

This part of the service concluded with a commemoration of the Faithful and an acceptance on the part of the people of the triple or quadruple inheritance thus received.

The Declaration of Church Union involved the official signing of the covenant by the four officials especially designated for this purpose. Later, all the duly accredited members of the First General Council attached their signatures to this historic document, and some others also signed by error.

The Communion address was delivered by Dr. S. P. Rose on "The Cross at the Heart of Life," based on John xii, 24–25. The sacramental service was significant not only in the spirit which prevailed but in the form used. In Congregational and Presbyterian churches, the elements had always been distributed by elders and deacons; the early custom in the Methodist churches had been inherited from the Anglican communion, where the communicants came to the altar rail and received the bread and wine from the hands of the officiating minister. As the individual cup came into vogue, however, the minister (sometimes assisted by visiting ministers) carried the elements through the congregation. Confronted with the necessities of administering communion to eight thousand persons, and the difference in distribution practised by the uniting churches, those entrusted with the details of this part of the service decided to use laymen.

As a result, this method is the one mostly used today throughout the United Church, and to this extent the United Church has definitely moved away from the type of observance so dear to those who cherish the Catholic tradition—especially the Anglicans and the Lutherans. There are many former Methodists who feel here a distinct loss, and the Holy Communion does not mean as much to them now as it did before, when they went forward, humbly knelt and partook of the symbols of spiritual nurture offered by the representative of Christ. There are many who feel that The United Church of Canada should be broad enough to encourage in the same local church both types of distribution. The prevailing tendency, however, throughout the entire church, is for but four observances a year, and one detects the dominance of the Presbyterian attitude. At this point, however, the Methodist tradition is that which may have the greatest influence in preserving a spiritual nexus with those of the Anglican communion.

Thus, in a solemn act, and before an immense concourse of people, The United Church of Canada was dedicated to its high emprize. At the same time and at the same hour, all over the Dominion, community groups met together to vent their high enthusiasm and, in their own way, to share in this act of dedication. Visitors and fraternal delegations from churches all over the world occupied an honored place on the occasion, and later in more informal gatherings brought the good wishes of their respective communions. The day was graced by the initial appearance of the consolidated religious weekly, henceforth called *The New Outlook*. On its cover was the figure of a youth in classic dress, standing on an eminence overlooking a rolling country wherein was no sign of human habitation—but the arms were outstretched in hope as he surveyed the wide expanse before him. Thus, young Canada stood on one of its great peaks of achievement on June 10, 1925, and looked forward to the years with the thrill of hope and prayer.

PART THREE

AFTERMATH, 1925–1932

CHAPTER XI

Community Adjustments

While the Basis of Union had guaranteed that there should be no disturbance of the local church in its freedom of action and form of government, and while the readjustment of local situations, at least in the case of self-supporting churches, was possibly the last thing contemplated by the framers of the "Basis," the consummation of Union—or, to be more accurate, the taking of the vote—led to upheavals in almost every community.

Where there was only a Methodist church—and there were few places except in rural areas where this was the case—nothing happened and things went on much as before. Where there was only a Congregational church —and this was of even rarer occurrence—a similar outcome resulted, for Congregational churches, except five in the East and one Swedish field in the West, voted into the Union. Of the five eastern churches, three were in cities where there were many other churches entering the United Church, and if any unionist members desired to take their letters of demission, they could easily find a church in which to place them. As a matter of fact, however, few left the non-concurrent Congregational churches. In two instances, the churches were Congregational in name only. These were small rural churches within twenty miles of Toronto. They had employed a minister who had not been trained in Congregational procedure and the people were definitely fundamentalist in their theology and independent in their polity. Wherever there was a Presbyterian church, however, the repercussions of the controversy were almost invariably felt and comparatively few churches, except in the West, escaped disruption.

The Parting of the Ways

Had the local minorities in the voting, whether unionist or non-concurrent, accepted the decisions of the local majorities and stayed by their individual churches, whether these voted in or out, congregational tensions might have arisen which, to be sure, only the years would have removed, but there would have been no community upheavals. These minorities were, however, organized, and not infrequently pledged to take the consequences, however bitter, of their attitude. Consequently the announcement of the results of the vote in any given congregation was the signal for secession. Of course, many did stay with the church with which they had been connected, in spite of a vote adverse to their own preferences; but there is at least one instance in the city of Toronto where the minister of a non-concurrent church invited those who had voted for Union to leave, and between four and five hundred accepted his invitation and formed a new congregation in connection with The United Church of Canada. In the same city, the editor of one of the daily papers espousing the cause of Union, who was a member of a church which had voted non-concurrence, was formally asked to secure his letter of demission.[1]

Thus the bitterness caused many non-concurrent churches to take drastic action to cleanse their rolls of all those who were not in sympathy with the majority. The causes for such measures may be traced to three facts:

1. In the first place, those opposed to Union had carried on a pledge-signing campaign in which they had sought to secure the signatures of men and women who were determined to carry on the Presbyterian Church in Canada. This was interpreted as implying that, should the church vote for Union, they would attach themselves to a non-concurrent church.

2. In the latter part of 1924, officials of the Presbyterian Church charged with the conduct of the vote recognized that, in case there were large secessions of non-concurrents from unionist churches, the resulting situation would be chaotic from the point of view of church union, and they consequently issued advice to unionist minorities.[2] In this document they pointed out that either unionist minorities might withdraw and attach themselves to some church in the neighborhood which had entered the United Church, or they might remain where they were and act as a leaven on the congregation, in the hope that they might eventually win it over to enter the United Church at some later date. The non-concurrent churches felt themselves threatened by retaining such sympathizers on their rolls, and therefore took drastic action to secure peace and harmony within their membership and to avoid disturbing propaganda.[3]

3. The Presbyterian unionists felt themselves obligated, having once decided to unite with their Methodist and Congregational brethren, to bring the maximum strength possible into the United Church, and hence did not discourage the secession of unionist minorities.

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[1] The circulation of this paper dropped by 10,000 during the controversy. The circulation of a Montreal daily favoring Union dropped 4,000 in a similar period.

[2] See text of instructions in Appendix D.

[3] A member of the Presbyterian coöperating committee adds: "In many cases where the minister of a congregation voted against entering the United Church the minister wrote out certificates of membership for all the members in favour of Union, and strongly urged them to leave the church and in some cases led them out in a formal procession over to the United church. In many other cases a written request was made for the issuance of certificates of membership to persons whose names were given on a long list claiming that these were in favour of entering the United Church. These letters were signed by the minister, but were not signed by the individual members whose names were included in the list. Naturally this led to the Presbyterian element adopting similar methods for self-protection."

All over the country, former friends parted, often with bitter words, and even families were separated, the children voting one way and the parents another. In the latter instance, however, the tendency was for children, whatever they thought about Union, to stay with their parents, and this probably profited the non-concurrent churches more than the unionists, since the children as a rule did not feel so keenly the necessity of continuing the Presbyterian tradition as did their elders. There are several instances, however, of brothers in the Presbyterian ministry, of whom one is now in the United Church and the other in the continuing Presbyterian Church.

It is quite impossible to describe in detail the results created by the formation of such minorities in hundreds of communities, and it is almost as difficult to arrange these cases under various manageable categories. The situation in the West was quite different from that in the East, and even in the East the results in Ontario were quite different from those in the Maritime provinces. In the West, the groundwork had already been laid over a period of nearly twenty years by various forms of local coöperation, and outside the cities there were comparatively few places in any of the four provinces where Presbyterians and Methodists maintained competitive churches in 1925. Church Union swept the West, which showed no disposition, outside of a few scattered centres, to go back on the arrangements that had been made in this long preliminary period of adjustment. In Ontario and Quebec, on the other hand, the coöperative movement had not gone so far, except in the sparsely-settled areas in New Ontario. There were more cities and larger towns here, and the churches were for the most part self-supporting and consequently not so convinced of the need of union. The East, moreover, was conservative and sufficiently far removed from the exigencies of pioneer life not to desire any radical departures in methods of social organization. In Ontario, the results of the balloting showed an actual majority against Union, and while the cities tended to divide fairly evenly, the majority of the towns voted non-concurrence.[4]

In the Maritimes, there were fairly large areas dominated by people who were Presbyterian in religion and Scottish in racial origin, and in these areas—notably, Pictou County, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton—non-concurrence was strong. Here there were scores of communities in which the only church had been Presbyterian—they already had church union of a kind—but as a result of the controversy no less than seventy-three minority congregations were now organized, thirty of them unionists and forty-three non-concurrent. Whether this was a case of Greek meeting Greek or

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[4] Anti-unionism swept Hamilton, only one of the large churches voting for Union. The results of the actual balloting in Ontario showed 66,470 for Union, and 79,853 against Union. The congregations entering Union without a vote had an aggregate membership of 18,153.

Scot meeting Scot, or whether it is due to a certain provincialism, or whether the people in the Maritimes take both their politics and their religion a trifle too seriously, would be an over-delicate question to ask. Even so, unionism triumphed completely in a large section of Nova Scotia. In the two most important cities in that province, Halifax and Sydney, not a single Presbyterian church voted non-concurrence. The churches in Colchester County, which adjoined Pictou, and which was as strongly Presbyterian as Pictou, entered the Union almost without a dissent, while the churches in Pictou, with some notable exceptions, all stayed out. There seem to have been no consistent reasons why one church voted one way and another a different way, unless the facts of local leadership or the existence of some local rivalry be admitted. With these general diverse tendencies in different parts of the country in mind, we can, perhaps, best consider the whole question of community adjustments under three general heads: (a) cities, (b) towns and incorporated villages, and (c) rural areas.

THE CITIES

Transfer of Minorities

In practically every Canadian city—important exceptions are noted later—there were, in 1925, two or more Presbyterian churches and two or more Methodist churches, and in nearly every city, while some of the Presbyterian churches entered the Union, others voted non-concurrence. The immediate effect, therefore, was a transfer of minority groups.

The unionist minorities usually attached themselves as a body to a Presbyterian church which had entered the Union or to a former Methodist church in the neighborhood. Where there was a Presbyterian church at hand which had entered the Union, they attached themselves as a rule to that church; but in certain instances, where the distance was too great, they joined the Methodist church. In one of the small cities, Woodstock, Ontario, the larger part of the minority from Knox Presbyterian Church led by the venerable pastor emeritus, the Rev. W. T. McMullen, D.D., who died in 1932 in his 102nd year, went over not to the Chalmers Presbyterian Church but to the former Central Methodist Church; but this was an exception to the general rule.

The consolidation of these unionist minorities from Presbyterian churches with existing Methodist churches called for no small degree of tact and forbearance. According to the Basis of Union, local church government was not to be disturbed, but when a minority of one hundred, two hundred, and in some cases of five or six hundred persons, who had been brought up under a different polity had to be assimilated, it was necessary to reconstruct the local church organization in accordance with the type of local church government to be used in all United churches formed subsequent to Union. This meant in most cases a fuller participation of the congregation as such in the direction of the local church, and a new panel of officers both in the church proper and in the subordinate organizations such as the women's societies, the young people's societies and the Sunday schools. It meant, too, some modifications in the type of service and occasionally, although not immediately, a change of pastors. Frequently the minority which came over brought the ousted unionist minister with them, and consequently the church was directed by two associate ministers, whose mutual status was somewhat uncertain.[5] In general, the ministers of such churches, whether former Methodists or former Presbyterians, wore the gown and bands, and it became necessary to remind certain Methodists who disliked so much millinery that all the pictures of John Wesley extant reveal him thus attired. A good story is told of one such church in which the Methodist minister had adopted the Geneva attire. One Sunday morning a retired minister in the continuing Presbyterian Church attended the service in his church as a worshipper. At the close of the service the United Church minister went to the back of the auditorium to greet the members of his congregation. He shook hands heartily with the retired Presbyterian minister and said that he was glad to see him with them that morning. "But," said the venerable dominie, "I am a Presbyterian." "Oh," replied the United Church minister, "we are all one now." "Perhaps," said the Presbyterian dubiously, "the gown and bands may be the gown and bands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob."

There was a marked tendency in many former Methodist churches in which unionist minorities had been consolidated to call former Presbyterian ministers when the time for a readjustment came. This was done in consideration of the strong minority that was being assimilated, and also because of the larger number of strong Presbyterian ministers available after the general débacle. The tendency created some opposition on the part of Methodist ministers, who felt that after loyally bringing into the United Church all the churches in that denomination, they were losing some of the "plums," which were now being given to former Presbyterians who had been unable to carry their congregations with them. On the whole, the congregations which made these experiments seem quite satisfied with the outcome. One may perhaps record an exception to the general satisfaction in one instance, where a Presbyterian had become minister of a former Methodist church so reinforced, and members of the minority complained to the director of the study that their minister often tried to joke in the pulpit in the hope of appealing to the Methodists! Probably, however, the explanation was that he was just that kind of a minister. On the other hand, a large number of such churches continued with a former Methodist minister until the time for readjustment came, and they select their ministers today without considering to any great degree the denominational pedigree of the applicant.

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[5] A certain fear today in the United Church of an associate ministry may be traced in part to some unsatisfactory experiences during this readjustment.

Even the question of the hymnbook to be used required some adjustment. In Canada in all the churches people own their own hymnbooks, which they take to the church with them, and the denominations are very proud of their respective hymnals. As the United Church was not able to prepare a hymnbook of its own for use before 1931, it became customary, where unionist minorities from Presbyterian churches had been consolidated with Methodist churches, to use both the Presbyterian Book of Praise, with its goodly psalms, and the Hymnal of the Methodist Church, and to announce the numbers as they might be found in both books. Slight or significant as these problems might be, a still greater problem was presented where, as occurred in perhaps a majority of cases, the enlargement of churches that had been reinforced by such considerable minorities became necessary. Consequently there was an extensive outlay on new parish-houses and in renovating the interiors of auditoriums in the interests of a heightened ecclesiastical effect.

Former Methodist churches were thus considerably strengthened, both in number and quality of membership,[6] but at the same time they were confronted with a wide variety of problems and even of additional burdens. In extending a cordial welcome to the newcomers, they proved themselves almost universally more than generous and practised the "gospel of the second mile."

On the other hand, the Presbyterian churches that had entered the Union were weakened by the secession of the non-concurrent minorities and most of these churches in the cities of Ontario did not receive sufficiently large unionist minorities from non-concurring churches to make up for their losses.[7] For a few years, therefore, many of these churches faced a very difficult financial situation; with a depleted membership they had to raise the same amount for church expenses, including often interest charges on heavy debts and their pride would not permit them to fall behind in their usual givings for benevolences.[8] A statistical study of the growth of these churches shows in a surprising number of cases that in spite of their depleted membership, the annual contributions for all purposes have exceeded those of pre-union days.[9] In a few instances, on the other hand, they were left so badly crippled that in spite of heroic efforts to carry on as usual, they have been eventually forced to consolidate with some other United church in the immediate neighborhood.

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[6] The unionist minorities were to a large extent the active workers of their churches.

[7] An evidence of this may be found in comparing the total membership of all churches which voted non-concurrence at the time of the voting and again in March, 1926. At the beginning of 1925 their membership was 143,870; in 1926 this had increased to 154,243. Thus, they had actually gained slightly more than they had lost. What is more, their strength was almost entirely in Ontario, where the membership of the continuing Presbyterian churches, in 1931, was 141,697, out of a total membership throughout Canada of 180,002.

The non-concurrent Presbyterian churches were weakened by the Presbyterian unionist minorities that went out from them either to former Methodist churches or to former Presbyterian churches which had entered the Union, and at the same time strengthened by the non-concurring minorities from former Presbyterian churches which had entered the Union. In the larger cities in the East, the non-concurrent churches seem, so far as membership is concerned, to have gained, broadly speaking, more than they lost in this reciprocal interchange of minorities. Some of them, however, have not recovered their former strength, and it is generally claimed by the United Church, and acknowledged by many non-concurrent Presbyterian ministers in the course of personal interviews, that among the unionist minorities lost by the non-concurrent churches was an extraordinary proportion of the active workers of the church—elders, Sunday-school teachers, young people's workers and missionary enthusiasts. It became necessary, therefore, for many of these non-concurrent churches, scores of which had been left pastorless, not only to secure new pastors but also to break in and train an almost entirely new lay leadership. That they have been able to do so in a majority of instances must be stated to their credit. While, of course, the Presbyterian churches which voted into the Union were also forced to seek some new leaders, these became for the most part available in the cities from the personnel of the unionist minorities that came over to them. In both cases, however, the net result was the drawing on reserves, more or less inactive, for the "commissioned and non-commissioned officers" of the churches concerned.

In general, however, it must also be stated that the status of nearly all the former Presbyterian churches in cities and towns was changed in the upheaval. At one time it was thought that there would be some general migration to the Anglican Church; but while there are frequent rumors that such a migration took place, the director of this study has been unable to discover much concrete evidence of such a development, except in a few places, e.g., Calgary, Regina, etc. In the cities there were always sufficient United churches to absorb unionist sympathizers, while the formation of non-concurrent minority congregations did not allow many of the others to escape to other denominations. It is reasonably clear that where there were such slight losses to the Anglican Church, the dominant motive was provided by social considerations. Nor were there any non-concurrent Methodist minorities to reinforce either the Presbyterian churches which had voted out of the Union or those which had voted in.[10] Hence, in the general mix-up, both types of churches temporarily suffered. The consciousness of their losses, however, developed a militant spirit, and the membership of both types of churches became most alert in the search for new recruits and more than usually generous in the support of their respective institutions.

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[8] The situation was particularly difficult on churches that had completed extensive building projects just before the secession.

[9] For the six and three-quarter years of Union (1925–1931) givings of United churches, with a total membership of approximately 630,000, to the missionary and maintenance fund, exclusive of givings by women's societies, averaged annually $2,894,000. This figure, according to the Treasurer of the United Church, is 18 per cent. higher than the amount given by all those who subsequently entered the United Church in the best year before Union. Even during the depression years the drop in giving has been relatively small, the figures being: 1929, $2,696,710; 1930, $2,721,269; 1931, $2,405,326.

A summarized statistical analysis of the growth of such city churches would be misleading, since it is quite clear that new methods of keeping the rolls have prevailed since 1925 in all United churches, whether formerly Presbyterian or formerly Methodist, and there has been on the whole a greater tendency in United churches than in non-concurrent Presbyterian churches to purge the rolls of all dead wood.[11] Further, it is hardly fair to compare the givings of the churches in 1925–29 and in 1929–1932; the "depression" was no respecter of persons and unionists and non-concurrents alike were hit.

On the whole, however, the former Methodist churches gained by the upheaval, although this was the case in the smaller cities rather than in the larger ones. As the editor of a small city paper put it, "the net result was the infiltration of vigorous Presbyterian blood into former Methodist churches." It is in this fact that the reality of church union in Canada becomes patent. Had there been no bitter controversy within the Presbyterian Church there would have been no unionist minorities, and consequently the local churches would have gone on much as before—the former Presbyterian churches along Presbyterian lines and the former Methodist churches along Methodist lines; only the passing of the years would have effected a gradual syncretism of the two groups. As it was, however, the controversy produced the minorities and the minorities, uniting with former Methodist churches, have tended to create a distinctly new type of church which is at once Methodist and Presbyterian.

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[10] There are isolated instances of Methodist families joining the non-concurrents, but these are too scattered to be significant.

[11] The whole problem of the growth of both the United Church and the non-concurrent churches is treated statistically in chapter xv.

Formation of Minority Congregations

One of the results of Union in many communities, even including the cities, was a net increase in the number of churches. This was due to the formation of minority congregations, most of which were connected with the non-concurrent churches except in some few cities (e.g., Calgary, Pleasant Heights) and in rural districts in the Maritimes, which must be especially considered under community readjustments in rural areas.

There were, however, some cities in which all the Presbyterian churches voted into the Union—Halifax, Sydney, Owen Sound, Regina and Winnipeg. (In Winnipeg one comparatively small augmented church did vote out. In Moncton, Sudbury, Oshawa and North Bay there was but one Presbyterian church in each place and that one church voted into the Union.) In all these cities, minority congregations from all the former Presbyterian churches were hived together and at least one new church was bought or erected. In Halifax, the new congregation bought the old Grafton Street Methodist Church, the mother church of Methodism in the city with the grave of William Black, the founder of Maritime Methodism, in the churchyard adjoining. In Sydney, a new church building costing upwards of $85,000 was built. In Owen Sound non-concurring minorities amalgamated and formed a new congregation. They applied to the Ontario Property Commission for relief, asking that one of the existing churches be given to them under the terms of the Ontario Act, but the unionists were able to convince the commission that both buildings were needed for the purposes of the United Church. Hence, no relief was granted, and the newly organized congregation built a new church costing over $65,000, on which there remained only a small debt of some $5,000 in 1931.

In Winnipeg there had been fifteen Presbyterian churches in 1925, in addition to some missions of various kinds, and of these only one voted non-concurrence. This church was in a district largely populated by immigrants from the British Isles and had been receiving home-mission funds. Officers of the church approached the authorities of the former Presbyterian Church in Canada, as well as the organizers of the non-concurrent opposition, asking whether their grant would be continued in case the church voted Union or non-concurrence. Receiving assurance from the non-concurrents but not from the unionists, the church subsequently voted anti-union, but this church has shown no appreciable growth in the past five years.

Consequently, it gained nothing from other churches. An aggregate non-concurrent minority from the larger churches, however, organized themselves into a congregation and after some unsuccessful negotiations to purchase the former St. Stephen's Presbyterian Church and the former Broadway Methodist, in the course of which some bad feeling developed, they abandoned all such efforts and built instead a new, beautiful stone church on Gothic lines costing upwards of $100,000.

At several suburban points around Winnipeg, minorities have also either bought or erected new churches, thus offsetting the gains obtained by consolidations of former Presbyterian and Methodist churches in those localities. Similarly in Regina an aggregate non-concurrent minority from the five former Presbyterian churches grouped together and formed a new congregation, which includes some of the most prominent people in the city. This group was soon strong enough to build a new and beautiful church, costing, with its equipment, upwards of $100,000, of which there was still in 1931 a total indebtedness of $36,500. Since this time, the non-concurring Presbyterians have built a second small church in the northern part of the city at a cost of approximately $12,000 and have opened Sunday schools at two other points.

In Moncton (population 20,617), North Bay (15,478) and Sudbury (about 20,000) the Presbyterians had only one church in each city. Indeed the Protestant population of these cities is not large on account of the number of French Canadians, on the one hand, and of recent immigrants on the other. In all three cities, however, there has been considerable gain in population in the last decade, and in each of them the net result of the Union controversy has been one new minority Presbyterian church. These three non-concurrent churches have all acquired new buildings; but they still remain fairly weak, except in Sudbury, where the statistical trends both in membership and in givings have been steadily upwards. The Presbyterian churches which voted into the Union, both in Moncton and in North Bay, have quite recovered from the losses that they sustained in 1925, and are now stronger than ever. In Sudbury a consolidation was formed between St. Andrew's (formerly Presbyterian) and the Cedar Street Methodist Church, the property of the latter being now used for social purposes.

A ridiculous situation exists, however, in this growing city, which only a spot-map brings out fully. Almost all the churches in the city are located near the corner of Elm and Durham streets, the main centre. One block north of Elm Street, and in a row, are three Roman Catholic churches, standing like three sentinels on a slight elevation—St. Ann's (French), St. Joseph's (Irish) and a large Ukrainian Catholic Church—and testifying to Catholic concessions to racialism. Two blocks south of Elm Street are the four Protestant churches, all on the south side of Larch Street and separated from each other only by a single house or two—a Baptist church, built in 1918; then St. Andrew's (formerly Presbyterian, now United), built in 1910; then the Anglican Church of the Epiphany, built in 1912, and last, the newest member of the quartette, the Knox Presbyterian Church, with the inevitable emblem of the burning bush, built in 1927. The United Church has recently erected an All People's Mission in a district where there are many Finns and Ukrainians, and the Roman Catholics have built a new church in the northeast section of the city. Apart from these, Sudbury churches are lumped together in two streets. While Knox Church split off from St. Andrew's after 1925, it nevertheless bears a tablet with the legend "Knox Presbyterian Church 1887–1927," thus claiming to be the true successor of St. Andrew's.

These examples of the formation of minority groups will serve to indicate the main reason why the non-concurring Presbyterian churches in Canada have spent an aggregate of $5,000,000 in securing new church edifices or manses between 1925 and 1931.

In this connection, attention must be called especially to the results in certain cities where all the existing Presbyterian churches voted non-concurrence. These cities were New Westminster, B. C., New Glasgow, N. S.,[12] Stratford, Ont., St. Thomas, Ont., and Charlottetown, P. E. I.

In Charlottetown, 315 persons in the two Presbyterian churches had voted in favor of Union, and of these, 213 left their old churches and joined Trinity Methodist Church. The church thus augmented called a Presbyterian minister and has steadily grown in membership and giving until it is at least statistically stronger than both non-concurring Presbyterian churches put together. In New Glasgow, there were three Presbyterian churches almost in a row, and within a stone's throw of one another, having an aggregate membership, in 1925, of 1,778. All three churches voted non-concurrence with an aggregate vote of 924 to 527. Across the corner from one of these churches was a tiny Methodist church of some 200 members, the only Methodist church in the city, which suddenly found itself reinforced by an aggregate unionist minority of 450; and of course the church was too small for its new members. They initiated negotiations to purchase the property of the First Presbyterian Church, which had lost most heavily by the "disruption," but the First Church refused to sell, fearing—so rumor had it—that too many of its already depleted membership would stay with the building and thus be lost to the non-concurrents. Approaches were next made to Westminster Church, which prior to 1925 was called the United Presbyterian Church but had changed its name for obvious reasons, and which had suffered least in the general turmoil. Westminster was, however, unwilling to make any adjustments, and consequently the United church purchased a lot directly across the corner from the former Methodist church and abutting the First Presbyterian Church, and erected a new building at a cost of $120,000.

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[12] New Glasgow is not, strictly speaking, a city, but a major unit in four adjoining towns which have an aggregate population of about 20,000.

In St. Thomas, Ont., the status of one of the non-concurrent churches was hardly affected at all by the aftermath of the vote, but Knox Church lost about 180 members to former Methodist churches.

In Stratford, the unionist minorities from two Presbyterian churches asked the Ontario Property Commission for relief, but this was not granted on grounds similar to those urged by the United Church in the Owen Sound case. Hence, these minorities united with the former Trinity Methodist Church, which necessitated a new building valued at $88,000, and Trinity, which had a membership of 484 in 1924, has today a membership of 1,066.

In New Westminster the five Presbyterian churches, none of them very large, all voted non-concurrence by an aggregate vote of 493 to 340. The two largest churches, however, nearly split evenly—the votes being 175 to 171, and 137 to 120, respectively. Only one of these churches has shown any growth since 1925, and it is still small; the other four are all weaker, both in membership and in financial strength than they were before. On the other hand two of the Methodist churches received total accessions, in 1925 alone, of 52 and 278, respectively, and the aggregate amount raised by one of these churches in 1931 was nearly as large as the aggregate grand total of the five non-concurrent Presbyterian churches. Yet, in the Dominion Census of 1921, New Westminster was a dominantly Presbyterian city, having 3,809 Presbyterians and 2,551 Methodists out of a total population of 14,495.

Of course, the data relative to the last-mentioned four cities, where all the former Presbyterian churches voted out of Union, really belongs to the former section of this chapter dealing with the "transfer of minority groups," since in no case was an entirely new congregation created. But when such situations are considered in relation to those in places where all the churches voted into the Union, it becomes clear that for both unionists and non-concurrents, the paradox was true that most progress was most failure. It would indeed have been better if in every city where there had been two or more churches, each party had secured at least one. In every city swept by non-concurrence, a large number of the Presbyterian churches were more or less permanently weakened; in every city swept by the unionists, without exception, non-concurrent minorities have been established, and with the exception of Halifax, new and often expensive buildings have been erected.[13] Thus, more money than ever has been taken out of the community, and instead of reducing the evils of overlapping, the problem has been accentuated. This constitutes one of the undeniable tragedies of the church-union movement in Canada.

Consolidations and the Elimination of Overlapping

While much had been accomplished in the elimination of overlapping in Canadian communities during the transitional period of coöperation before 1925, this had not affected to any considerable degree the life of the cities, with their large, self-supporting churches. Of course, there were exceptions, as, for example, in Halifax, where the United Memorial Church had been built after the great explosion. Occasionally, in the later years of the coöperative period, something was attempted in the construction of churches in suburban areas, of which the Rosedale Church in Toronto is perhaps an outstanding example. For the most part, however, the United Church inherited in the cities the fruits of the competitive system, and in nearly every city found on its hands the problem of developing some policy that might promote local consolidations without destroying the loyalties so important in the life of the individual congregation.

Spotmaps made of all Canadian cities in the course of this study demonstrated clearly that almost inevitably several United churches are massed together at one spot. In Toronto, on Carlton Street, there are within four blocks three strong United churches—Carlton Street (formerly Methodist and originally Primitive Methodist), strongly evangelical and popular in its appeal; Old St. Andrew's (formerly Presbyterian), where Dr. J. R. P. Sclater maintains a high tradition of pulpit eloquence and which draws to itself today no small proportion of such Scottish immigrants as feel sympathy with the United Church; and Sherbourne Street (formerly Methodist and originally Wesleyan), which was at one time, and still is to some degree, the most aristocratic Methodist church in the city, and where the interpretation of Christianity in modern terms is carried on by so internationally known a preacher and thinker as Dr. Richard Roberts. All three churches are in an area which is rapidly ceasing to be residential and is gradually being given over to boarding-houses, but each of them has its own particular clientele, and a consolidation would be neither possible nor advisable.

A still more challenging situation may be observed in London. Within six or seven blocks in this city are no less than five United churches, four of them large and resourceful. These are the First (Presbyterian), Metropolitan (Methodist), Beecher (Congregational), St. Andrew's (Presbyterian) and Dundas Street (Methodist). The value of the property of these five churches, situated at the heart of a city of only 70,000 population, might be conservatively estimated at $750,000, and there are scores of other churches in the city beside these. Again, in Winnipeg, within a few blocks are the Central Church (Congregational), Grace Church (Methodist), and Knox Church (Presbyterian), with sites and edifices aggregating in value $1,450,000. In the heart of Montreal are four large United churches—Erskine and American, both wealthy and aristocratic, and formerly Presbyterian, and St. James' (formerly Methodist) and Emmanuel (formerly Congregational), making a more distinctly popular appeal. The property valuation of the four aggregates upwards of $3,000,000. These are but typical situations of the kind that the United Church inherited from the competitive system and that, sooner or later, it must solve.

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[13] Three Rivers, Quebec, had one Presbyterian church and one Methodist church. The Presbyterian church voted into Union and later absorbed the Methodist church. No minority church was established here for the simple reason that Protestants constitute only a minor fraction of the whole population, which is 90 per cent. French-Canadian Roman Catholic. From a Protestant point of view, Three Rivers is a small town rather than the city it actually is.

In a few instances the local problems thus created were solved at once. In Ottawa, for instance, the Westminster Presbyterian Church was consolidated, in the spring of 1925 and before the actual consummation of Union in the country at large, with the First Congregational Church; the Westminster property was sold to the Syrian Orthodox congregation, and the property of the First Congregational Church was used by the new congregation. Each year since Union there has been one such consolidation in the city of Ottawa.

In Toronto, two large churches on Bloor Street confronted each other—Westminster (Presbyterian) and Central (Methodist). Central Church had been very strong at one time and was free from debt, but had begun to slip; Westminster was heavily in debt, and seriously weakened by the secession of a large non-concurrent minority. These two churches faced the problem frankly and decided to consolidate. The joint congregation occupied Westminster, which was enlarged with a modern parish-house; the sale of Central helped to defray the expenses of building the addition and to reduce the debt of Westminster. Here the result is one strong church, which seems to have an assured field of service for perhaps twenty-five years, whereas both the previous churches would perhaps successively have gone to the wall. There have been seven such consolidations in Toronto since 1925, and similar situations, involving all kinds of permutations and combinations, might be indicated in almost every Canadian city.

Much, however, remains still to be done, and naturally one asks why it has not been done. The reasons became patent as one examines more closely the peculiarities of Canadian cities and particularly the special complications created by the way in which the Union was actually consummated.

First, it must be remembered that there are few large cities in the Dominion. Montreal, including Verdun, Outremont and Westmount (922,352) and Toronto (627,584) are in a class by themselves. Next in importance are Vancouver (245,587) and Winnipeg (217,587). There are no other cities in the Dominion with a population of more than 200,000. In the next group are Hamilton (154,914), Quebec (129,103), and Ottawa (124,988). From the point of view of Protestantism, the city of Quebec is of comparatively little importance since more than 90 per cent. of its population is French and Roman Catholic. In the next group are Calgary (83,362), Windsor, including Walkerville and Sandwich (83,727), Edmonton (73,829), London (71,022), Halifax (53,939), Regina (53,034), St. John (46,640), and Saskatoon (43,025). The populations of all other Canadian cities are between 10,000 and 40,000, the average being about 20,000.

The significance of this fact to the church-union movement becomes increasingly clear when one considers the possibilities in the consolidation of local churches. Outside the four largest cities, land values in relation to the cost of the church edifices are comparatively small. It is, therefore, only in extraordinary circumstances that church property can be sold and any reasonable proportion of the original investment salvaged. There have been, of course, outstanding exceptions. In Montreal, the non-concurring church of St. Andrew and St. Paul was recently acquired by the Canadian National Railways in their plans for a new terminal for $600,000; Knox Church, Ottawa, and Wesley Church, Vancouver, have also brought high figures. But in the vast majority of cases the church edifices in Canadian cities are worth much more than the land on which they are situated, whether they are appraised at original cost or at their replacement value. Yet, if they are sold, it is practically impossible to obtain much more than their land value unless some other church group, e.g., Pentecostals, is anxious to get a good building at a bargain price. When, therefore, two churches, negotiating the terms of consolidation, recognize the difficulties involved in the satisfactory sale of one or more of the buildings, and the limitations of either in accommodating the united congregation—extensive alterations or even a new building often being required—they fail to see the economy in such a consolidation.

A study of several scores of church consolidations in cities reveals a further difficulty. Protestant church-members, for sentimental reasons, keep their membership in down-town churches after they have moved into the suburbs, and quite frequently they continue to support such churches even after they themselves are attending a church nearer their own home. But the moment a consolidation is effected and the old church to which they have been attached is merged with another and its building torn down, the psychological moment has come for the break which they have long contemplated but hesitated to make. In almost every consolidation the initial membership is less than the aggregate membership of the two constituent churches. A further diminution in membership is almost inevitable from the defection of some that are not whole-hearted in their approval of the change. "Important" people may feel that they have been a little ignored in the course of the negotiations; or the necessity for a general change in officials to meet the exigencies of the consolidation may leave an individual, who perhaps takes his office a little over-seriously, nursing a grievance; or some of the members have really had their social affinities in neither of the churches consolidating, but in some other church, and in the general shake-up they slip out to where they can enjoy an association more to their liking. Hence it appears that any consolidation in Canadian cities which keeps intact 80 to 85 per cent. of the aggregate membership of the two uniting churches has accomplished the extraordinary.

Social and racial factors, again, undoubtedly complicate the possibilities of consolidation, and this is as true of Roman Catholicism in Canada as it is of Protestantism. We have already called attention to three Roman Catholic churches in Sudbury in a row, French, Irish and Ukrainian. In Sault Ste. Marie, within a short distance, are also three Catholic churches, Italian, French and Irish. Tension between Irish and French Catholics in the Dominion is notorious,[14] and differences of this character have made necessary the creation of two bishoprics—the French Archbishop of St. Boniface, on one bank of the Red River, and the Irish Bishop of Winnipeg, on the other bank. Protestants also, are separated by lines of racial difference, as may be found in a certain district of Sydney, Nova Scotia. In Sydney every Presbyterian church entered the Union, and in one district there are still two United churches close together—St. James' (formerly Presbyterian) and Victoria (formerly Methodist). An outsider not conversant with the situation would feel that such continued duplication of effort was quite wasteful, especially as the two churches between them raise an aggregate budget of only $10,000 to $11,000 annually, and their aggregate membership is little more than 400. St. James' Church, however, is composed almost exclusively of Scottish Canadians, while the constituency of the former Methodist church is almost entirely made up of persons of English descent who have come to Sydney via Newfoundland. Whatever may happen in the future as these two groups come to know and understand each other better, to exert any undue pressure towards a consolidation under the existing circumstances would probably be as futile as mixing oil and water.

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[14] Father Daly, in *Catholic Action* (1927), says: "How does nationalism affect Catholic action in Canada? We leave the answer to the reader. Facts speak for themselves. This ground, we all know too well, is of a very volcanic nature. It would be a case of toying with explosives. The unfortunate feature of this important issue lies in the fact that when the question is discussed, instead of applying the lesson to ourselves we pass it on to others as suiting them better. Useless for us to dilate here upon the deplorable divisions that have of late years developed between the two main ethnical Catholic groups of our country. They have created a background of mutual resentment and suspicion which has given to our diversity of opinions on Catholic problems swollen proportions" (p. 81, sq.).

While the above is probably a somewhat extreme case, similar situations exist in almost every Canadian city, and only time—or possibly a desparate financial condition on the part of one or more of the churches concerned—can make a fruitful consolidation practicable. Thus in one western city there are two United churches very close together. The larger (formerly Presbyterian) has found its constituency in those people of the city that are decidedly well-to-do; it is strong in membership, in church attendance and in financial position. The other (formerly Methodist) is composed of people of somewhat humbler station. Their building is less pretentious; their services are less formal and austere; the membership must sacrifice more to keep up their independent cause; but it is quite obvious that they would not be nearly so much at home if they were to surrender their church and unite with the former Presbyterian church, and the chances are that should a union actually be attempted, most of the membership would be lost to the United church entirely. They would slip away to a more congenial congregation in which they could more easily find a place of responsibility and service.

In addition to these difficulties, which may be found in almost any community, the problem in Canadian cities was complicated by the aftermath of the bitter controversy that accompanied the consummation of Union. In practically every Canadian city at least one non-concurrent church either survived the vote or was created by a minority group. The presence of such a church made a consolidation of two United churches, one of which had been formerly Presbyterian, extremely venturesome, since certain of the members of the United church might not be particularly enthusiastic in their unionism and if they did not approve the specific consolidation, or some of its implications, they might withdraw their letters and unite with the non-concurrents. Such possibilities slowed down the process of consolidation.

Again, wherever a consolidation of two or more churches belonging to two or more of the three denominations was effected, the church almost invariably adopted the form of local church government as stipulated in the Basis of Union, and this meant a general shake-up in the office-holding and the introduction of new methods, which, however slight, might irritate the more conservative. It is sometimes difficult enough to consolidate two congregations of the same denomination, both of which have been accustomed to identical methods of local church government; but to consolidate two local churches which have been accustomed to different polities provides an occasion for a certain amount of foreboding and discontent. Indeed, when one remembers that in not a few Canadian cities prior to Union, two strong Presbyterian churches would be almost directly across the road from each other, and that in all these instances there seemed to be not the slightest urge towards local consolidation, it must be clear that too much could not be expected of The United Church of Canada in effecting a general consolidation of its churches in the same local area in the cities.

While all these factors were important in retarding local consolidations in Canadian cities, there was one situation, the result of the vote, which provided further grounds for hesitation. That was the presence of 187 Presbyterian ministers who had openly espoused the cause of Union and had to resign their pulpits when their churches voted non-concurrence. This left a surplus of outstanding men on the hands of the United Church. It had always been a Methodist theory that every effective minister should have a church and that every church should have a minister. All the Methodist churches came into the Union, and practically all of them were manned at the time of Union. What was to be done with the 187 surplus ministers among whom were some of the ablest preachers in the country? Every consolidation meant just one less pulpit in which they might be placed, and endeavors to provide the dual ministries which were put into operation in many churches as a temporary easement of the situation sometimes created almost as many problems as they solved. Hence the *officials of the United Church, in view of all the circumstances, actually discouraged local consolidations until it might be possible to absorb the surplus ministers.*

Finally, it was in the cities that non-concurrence was most successful, and consequently in many districts there was no outstanding change in the status of the churches from that immediately preceding Union. The Presbyterian church had voted non-concurrence; its unionist minority had perhaps gone over to the neighboring Methodist church. Beyond the problem of consolidating a unionist minority in a church which was a going concern there was nothing which could be done in the local situation generally.

In view of these various factors, the number of consolidations of United churches that have actually been effected in Canadian cities since 1925 is quite surprising. Of course, in a majority of instances, there has been some pressure that forced the consolidations—a down-town situation which was growing intolerable; a weakened membership due to population shifts; secessions of minorities or other causes; a debt that hung like a millstone round the neck of a church which had plunged too thoughtlessly into some extensive building project and found in a consolidation with some other church a means of balancing the budget and reducing the aggregate indebtedness. There was seldom a case where two strong self-supporting churches, situated close together, on purely idealistic grounds, and for heightened efficiency in Christian work, deliberately came together. Consolidations are due, therefore, less to idealism than to consciousness of weakness. Churches unite because they must. If they do not hang together, they must hang separately.

Nevertheless, it would be unfair to deprecate the progress made by the United Church in working towards some "city-planning" from a church point of view.[15] In such cities as Montreal, Ottawa, Regina, Calgary and Vancouver there has been marked progress in this direction, and one Toronto presbytery—possibly prematurely—has considered the setting up of parish boundaries. A satisfactory adjustment of these problems will take years, however, and hence if church union is desired as a means of overcoming overlapping in the cities, the sooner it comes the better. It is the opinion of the writer that under the most favorable circumstances, a satisfactory readjustment of churches and the emergence of a parish-plan would probably take at least twenty-five years in all but the most progressive cities.

Naturally, progress along these lines has been registered more in western cities than in the East. There, life and institutions are more in flux than in the longer settled provinces, and with notable exceptions church buildings are less pretentious. In some cases where a consolidation has taken place, one of the church buildings has been moved bodily to a growing district and set up on a vacant lot and thus a new centre has been created. In Edmonton two small churches, both formerly Presbyterian, one in the northeast and one in the southwest of the city, have been linked together in one pastoral charge, thus making a distinct variation on the usual type of consolidation. There have been consolidations of two churches, formerly Methodist, as in the Dominion-Douglas Church, Montreal, with a new $500,000 church as the result; and of two churches, formerly Presbyterian, as in Halifax, where the diminishing congregation of Park Street, which had no debt, united with St. John's, with a debt of $100,000, and thus made some temporary easement in a most difficult situation. There has also been at least one instance of two Methodist churches consolidating with one Presbyterian church to form the most promising parish in the city of Halifax at the present time. The various types of adjustment of this character almost defy classification. In every case there were many delicate problems to adjust: the selection of a new minister and the placing of the man who usually resigned to make the consolidation possible; the hymnbook to be used pending the publication of the hymnal of the United Church; the kind of service; the use of the "gown and bands"; the method of observing the Holy Communion; the selection of new panels of officials in accordance with the prescribed polity of the United Church for charges to be formed subsequent to the Union; the recruiting of new leaders in Sunday schools, women's organizations, etc.; the disposal of property and the consolidation of both assets and liabilities. In certain instances, where one church had abandoned its building and consolidated with another, the women of the church in question would continue to hold monthly or quarterly meetings to keep unimpaired the spirit of the old group; in most instances, however, all church lines disappeared in an apparently perfect fusion.

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[15] A former moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, now in the United Church, expressed to the director of this study his grave doubt if the members and adherents of the United Church in the various cities would ever accept parochial boundaries. The Anglicans had their parish system, but the people attended the church of their preference.

That these problems were satisfactorily met with as little friction as is evident is a testimony to the spirit of the United Church. When one adds to the consolidations of this type, those created by the incorporations of unionist minorities from almost every church which voted non-concurrence, the actual achievement in the field of community adjustments is of very great significance.

Miscellaneous Developments

Strange, amusing and amazing things happened in this period of turmoil and upheaval. Sault Ste. Marie, a city of about 21,000, which extends along the north shore of St. Mary's River, had two Presbyterian churches. One of them, in the better residential district, not far from the business centre of the town, was St. Andrew's with the large Central Methodist Church for its running mate. About a mile away, to the east and north, was a second Presbyterian church, St. Paul's, in a more middle-class district and with John Street Methodist Church as its inseparable companion. St. Andrew's Church was self-sustaining, had a membership of approximately 850 and raised approximately $18,000 a year for all purposes. St. Paul's had a membership of about 400, raised a grand total of about $8,000 and had a debt of approximately $26,000 on its church property. St. Andrew's voted 399 to 329 in favor of Union; St. Paul's voted 169 to 143 against. A substantial unionist minority left St. Paul's and joined John Street (the former Methodist church in the vicinity). The non-concurring minority in St. Andrew's, however, refused to go to St. Paul's whose already heavy burden of debt was now heavier by reason of the "disruption." Instead, they formed a separate congregation, reporting a membership of 410, and built a new and expensive church (Westminster) in the same district as St. Andrew's and Central, and directly opposite the Anglican pro-Cathedral, leaving the diminished congregation of St. Paul's to struggle on as best it could. This added one new church to the community and led to considerable resentment on the part of the congregation of St. Paul's towards the minority of St. Andrew's. Though St. Andrew's lost half its membership, it has been raising each year since Union as much money as, if not more than, it did before Union, and its Sunday-school enrolment shows an increase of more than 200 over pre-Union days. On the other hand, the new Westminster Church has raised, in the first six years of its organization, a total of $93,867, or an average of $15,646 a year.

An interesting situation occurred in Galt, always a strong Presbyterian city of approximately 13,000 population in 1921. There were here three major Presbyterian churches and two Methodist. The three Presbyterian churches were First, Knox and Central. The First Church was originally connected with the United Presbyterian Church in the United States and steadfastly refused to enter the Presbyterian Church in Canada until 1907. Prior to that time, it had refused to join in the Annual Week of Prayer services unless the other churches would agree to sing only the Psalms at these services. Knox's was originally a Free Church. Central was the result of the amalgamation of St. Andrew's Church of Scotland and the Melville Secession Church (United Presbyterian of Scotland). These last two churches had come together after the formation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and had built a new edifice diagonally across the corner from Knox's Church which, at the time, was also in the Presbyterian Church in Canada. When the vote of 1925 was taken, Knox's and Central voted non-concurrence, and so these two continuing Presbyterian churches still remain as before in Galt, facing each other. The only church left to vote into the Union was the old First, which had been the last to enter the Presbyterian Church in Canada. A non-concurring minority of about fifty in the First Church went out to add their strength to the two continuing Presbyterian churches, while sixty members of Central and about 200 from Knox's came over mostly to First, so increasing its strength that additional accommodations costing $35,000 were necessary.

Congregational Churches

Most of the cases referred to in this chapter concern Presbyterian and Methodist churches. Congregational churches presented a somewhat distinct problem. In several cities in the West (e.g., Edmonton, Regina and Saskatoon), no Congregational church had ever been started, and the same situation prevailed in many of the smaller cities in Ontario. In other cities (e.g., Brandon, St. John and Calgary), Congregational churches had been once established but had disappeared before Union. In 1925, Congregational churches still survived, however, in Toronto, Hamilton, London, Ottawa, Stratford, Brantford, Guelph, Kingston, Montreal, Sherbrooke, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Victoria. Of these, the Stratford church, one of the churches in Toronto and another in Kingston voted not to enter the Union.

The Congregational churches in Toronto had been badly disorganized prior to Union. Northern had sold its property and moving into Rosedale became a community church, eventually calling a Presbyterian minister and using the Presbyterian Book of Praise in its services. Western, finding itself in the heart of a Jewish district, had sold its building to a group of English Jews for more than $70,000, and then disintegrated into three fragments. One of them united with a Presbyterian church which later voted non-concurrence; the other two both claimed for a time to be the true survivor of Western, but they were eventually amalgamated, and at the time of Union had a former Methodist as their minister. This church, however, disbanded shortly afterwards, distributing its capital among various agencies. Bond Street, Toronto, a large down-town church, which had maintained itself for years on a sensational ministry, was drawing to the end of its financial resources and had as its minister a former Presbyterian. Zion, the mother church, had long since disbanded, and its property, which sold for $100,000, had passed into the hands of the Congregational Missionary Society, the proceeds being used for the establishment of new churches in the city (Birchcliffe and Runnymede churches being among those profitting from this fund). Broadview was a small but active church, which had been largely responsible for the development of one of the most significant Y. M. C. A.'s in the Dominion, but it was handicapped by lack of adequate equipment; it had, however, an ordained Congregational minister. Olivet was small but steady, with a group of devoted people, evangelically inclined and most generous in the contributions, and a minister whom the Congregational leaders hesitated to ordain without further study on his part. Other churches, listed as Congregational, were made up of people of various denominations in expectation of Union, and their Congregationalism was largely the result of the grants from a trust fund.

After the Union, Broadview became consolidated with Simpson Avenue Methodist Church and its membership scattered. Bond Street, weary of the financial pressure, exercised its Congregational rights, without consulting Presbytery, sold its property and, after buying another site, proceeded to build a new church. When it found itself more deeply involved financially than it had anticipated, it asked Presbytery for help and not receiving sufficient aid, it then sought some other church with which it could consolidate and thus strengthen its financial position. St. James' Square, formerly Presbyterian, was facing an equally difficult situation and voted to effect the consolidation, its minister becoming the minister of the new church. The St. James' Square property, when and if sold, will decidedly improve the financial situation in the Bond-St. James Church, and in spite of the fact that this church is not really a consolidation of memberships, but of financial interests, its work in a practically new district shows signs of promise. Rosedale is one of the strong United churches in the city, but while a few of its most devoted workers are former Congregationalists, the church has lost almost all of its original Congregational coloring. Olivet voted non-concurrence and alone maintains a Congregational tradition. For the rest, Congregationalism in Toronto is thoroughly integrated in the United Church, and there is not (1932) a single pulpit in the city served by a minister formerly associated with Canadian Congregationalism, although the Deer Park Church (formerly Presbyterian) is regularly filled to hear the Rev. G. Stanley Russell, who came into the United Church via English Congregationalism.

The largest Congregational church in Kingston was consolidated a year or two before Union with Chalmers Presbyterian Church, and its property sold to be a Masonic temple. Part of the proceeds of this sale was devoted to improving another small and badly located Congregational church (Calvary) in the northern part of the city. An attempted consolidation of Calvary and another small church (Zion, formerly Presbyterian) in the same district failed. The Congregational church in Guelph was consolidated with Chalmers (formerly Presbyterian) and its property was used for a time for religious education, but this distribution of the school in two buildings proved open to serious objection. The leading Congregational Church in Vancouver was burdened with debt, and was eventually handed over to a non-concurring Presbyterian minority in need of a church, on condition that they assumed all the financial obligations. A second Congregational church in Vancouver continues within the United Church its separate existence, finding its clientele among such persons as believe that the British people are descended from the lost ten tribes of Israel.

In Victoria, the Congregationalists had built too ambitiously in the immediate neighborhood of the large Metropolitan Methodist and First Presbyterian Churches, and thus the consummation of Union found three churches huddled together. The Congregationalists decided to consolidate with the Metropolitan Methodist and the resultant church assumed all liabilities as well as assets, and now rents the old Congregational church to the Baptists. In Ottawa, the First Congregational Church was consolidated, in 1925, with the Westminster Presbyterian, and the Congregational building is used by the united congregation. Its minister is a former Presbyterian. A second Congregational church at Ottawa continues its separate existence with a minister who for years before Union was one of the Congregational leaders in the Dominion.[16] In London, there are two Congregational churches close together, but efforts to make an effective consolidation of these churches, neither of them strong, were quite ineffective until 1931, when the two churches were made into one pastoral charge under a former Methodist minister.

In Hamilton, a Congregational church survived intact, but is situated in the down-town district surrounded by other United churches. Before Union, it drew people with Congregational preferences from various parts of the city and thus felt itself to have a very definite reason for its existence. Its present minister is a former Methodist. In Brantford the church decided to disband and sold its property to a new congregation created by an amalgamation of non-concurrent minorities from some Presbyterian churches that had gone into Union. As this church had absolute control over its own property, it made its own disposition of the proceeds of the sale. The members then went where they chose, and there was no formal consolidation. In Winnipeg two former Congregational churches still survive. The larger of these, Central, had at one time one of the outstanding pulpits in the city, but even before Union the church had suffered as a result of some unwise real estate deals, and since Union it has also suffered from causes quite foreign to the Union movement generally. It therefore faces a serious problem today, which is only accentuated by the fact that it is now one of three down-town United churches, located near one another, and that, like the church in Hamilton, it no longer seems to offer a "distinctive line."

Only in Montreal and Sherbrooke does Congregationalism remain a vital force within the United Church. In Sherbrooke the Congregational church was reinforced by a strong unionist minority from the non-concurrent Presbyterian church. Calvary Church, Montreal, profited in the same way. Both are stronger than before Union and have as ministers men long connected with Canadian Congregationalism. Emmanuel Church, Montreal, a strong down-town church, has recently called to its pastorate a Presbyterian minister from Baltimore, Md. Four of the smaller Congregational churches in Montreal continue under the direction of men of Congregational inheritance.

These facts indicate how completely the Congregational strand has been woven into the United Church; indeed, there are many who feel that it has been lost in the bigger church. This is perhaps inevitable in the case of churches so proportionately small, unless the leadership is of extraordinary strength, and with a few notable exceptions Canadian Congregationalism was not strong in leadership; the United States was too near. Even if the inevitability may be acknowledged, the fact is none the less regrettable since the smaller body is not able to bear its full testimony in the United Church, and unfortunately, many Canadian ministers and most laymen of Presbyterian and Methodist upbringing have had an inadequate understanding of the rôle of Congregationalism in the world at large, to enable them to safeguard the Congregational coloration of the United Church. As a matter of fact, people generally think of it as a Methodist-Presbyterian affair, unless they are reminded that there was a third person in the trinity. One hardly needs to add that this affords little light on the possible eventuality of a similar movement in the United States, where the non-connexional churches of the congregational order, including Baptists, Christians, Disciples, Congregationalists, etc., are so strong and vigorous that they would not be so dominated by the connexional churches as Congregationalism was in Canada.

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[16] Rev. Harold I. Horsey died in 1932.

The fact that most Congregational property in Canada was held under liens which gave the denomination reversionary rights in case the local church ceased to be a Congregational church, was one factor in reducing the number of instances where Congregational churches were actually consolidated with other churches. In a good many instances—e.g., Toronto (Broadview), Vancouver, etc., the Congregational church simply disbanded and the members went where they chose, the amounts of the liens being transferred to the home missionary funds of the United Church. In nearly every instance, churches which thus passed out of existence made a generous provision for the work of the West African mission in Angola, formerly the favorite benevolence of Canadian Congregationalism and now greatly strengthened as a result of the Union. In this way, while Congregationalism in Canada has gone from less to less, until it has been almost submerged in the United Church, the work it started in Africa has grown from more to more, until today it is one of the most promising mission fields in all the world.[17]

None of the non-concurrent Congregational churches asked for any share in the denominational funds. Two of these churches discovered, however, in 1930, that the Congregational Home Missionary Society had liens on their property—the lien on Toronto, Olivet, was for over $10,000 and the lien on Stratford for over $1,000. The United Church, however, on request, graciously relinquished its right to these liens in 1932; and the two churches, while not a part of the United Church, continue through the Women's Missionary Society to support the work in Africa.

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[17] The mission fields in the Orient face grave difficulties today, as is made evident in the report of the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry (1932). In Africa, on the other hand, the appeal of Christianity to the more primitive mind is more immediate, while in Angola the Portuguese, of all white peoples, are more free from that racial arrogance which so often handicaps Christian missions.

Disposition of Abandoned Property

The various consolidations have created many abandoned church properties. Parsonages and manses were, of course, sold without much difficulty; but old churches have been put to a variety of uses and an interesting chapter might concern itself with these uses. In some instances, they are still retained by the original owners and refitted as social halls; but for the most part they have passed into the hands of other religious groups. While the Roman Catholics purchased one such church and the Syrian Orthodox another in Ottawa, the Pentecostals and the Salvation Army have been most aggressive in picking up churches at bargain prices. In a few instances, non-concurring minorities have purchased, for a nominal consideration, one of the surplus churches, so that there has been no change in the actual number of churches in the given community. In perhaps half a dozen cases they have been either rented or sold to Baptists, of the regular or irregular variety. This called for some sensitivity to the amenities of denominationalism in Ottawa, where in one district the fundamentalists in a Baptist church had created a split and desired to purchase one of the un-needed United churches. The United Church authorities, however, feared that such a sale would not be considered a "friendly gesture" by the original Baptist church, and hesitated to make such transfer without consulting it.

Other churches have been put to all sorts of uses. One in Halifax is a Tom Thumb golf-course; another in Ottawa has been converted into a Little Theatre; another in Kingston is a Masonic Temple. Of course churches met similar fates before Union. In Toronto alone abandoned churches were used for strange rites, a large down-town church (formerly Anglican) serving as the official Raybestos brake-adjusting station, and the Elm Street Methodist Church becoming Hygeia House. The uses of abandoned churches in cities is, however, not nearly so variegated as in small towns and villages where those entrusted with this study have found former houses of worship converted into warehouses, garages, manufactories of evaporated apples, gasoline filling-stations, public libraries, town-halls, public schools and what-not.

Summary of Adjustments in Cities

It will thus be seen that the consummation of Union was not without its repercussions in every Canadian city, providing realignments of groups, consolidations of minorities with existing churches and the creation of some few new minority congregations, and effecting a surprising number of consolidations and mergers, each of them calling for delicate adjustments and varying in success. Some churches were strengthened as a result of Union;

some were weakened; some passed out of existence, and some new churches of a competitive type were constructed. An epidemic of church building ensued and these enterprises were carried on while building prices were still at the peak; thus the valuation of church properties increased and also the aggregated indebtedness. The general effect was to shake the churches concerned out of their ruts, which was in itself a liberating experience. In many instances a new dynamic of ecclesiastical development emerged in the desire to show a minority that had gone out from a given church that those who were left could get along very well without them. Here competition proved, for a time at least, the life of the church. Whether this was a distinctly Christian motif or not is another matter. Out of it all, however, emerged in a few cities the beginning of parish-planning and although the trail ahead is a long one, the United Church is definitely proceeding in this direction.

INCORPORATED TOWNS, 1,000 TO 10,000 POPULATION

There are in the Dominion, according to the census of 1931, 463 towns or incorporated villages with populations between 1,000 and 10,000. These towns are classified as follows:[18]

Size	No. of Places	Aggregate Pop.	Per Cent. of Total Pop.
5,000–10,000	68	458,784	4.42
3,000– 5,000	71	273,276	2.63
1,000– 3,000	324	557,466	5.37
Total	463	1,289,526	12.42

Approximately 350 of these communities are incorporated towns; the rest are incorporated villages. So far as the effect of church union on town life is concerned, the resultant situation was much the same as that described above for Canadian cities, with, however, some outstanding differences.

In the first place, before Union, there was in nearly all these towns, except those with 5,000 to 10,000 population, only one Methodist church and only one Presbyterian church.[19] All the Methodist churches voted into the Union. If the Presbyterian church voted non-concurrence, then there was almost inevitably the secession of a unionist minority group that went over to the former Methodist church, but there was no non-concurring minority group as in most of the cities to go over to the non-concurring

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[18] *Canada Year Book*, 1932, page 102.

[19] There were two Presbyterian churches in three towns in Ontario—Carleton Place, St. Mary's and Perth—and in two towns in Nova Scotia—New Glasgow and Stellarton; there were two Methodist churches in four towns in Ontario—Goderich, Clinton, Napanee and Exeter.

Presbyterian church. To this degree, a vote for non-concurrence spelled inevitable loss. On the other hand, if the Presbyterian church voted into Union, there was usually some effort to effect not only an amalgamation of the two churches, but also, on the part of the non-concurring Presbyterians, to start a minority cause. Outside of the Province of Ontario, the attempts at amalgamation were generally successful. The minority churches, on the other hand, have, for the most part, been pitiably weak.

There was a second difference between the situation in the towns and that in the cities. In the latter, Congregational churches had, with some notable exceptions, survived, but in the former, Congregational organizations had almost completely disappeared. Even in Ontario, Congregational churches had only survived in four of the 104 towns which were submitted to close analysis, although in many of the others there was tangible and irrefutable evidence of the existence during the past forty years of such a church. What was true of the Congregationalists is also true, although not to the same extent, of the Baptists, except in the Maritime provinces, where the Baptists constitute a dominant Protestant group. It is reasonably clear that the smaller denominations can maintain a hold only in the cities and in the few rural communities in which the founders of the settlement have given their own denominational coloration to the future.

Then again, in nearly all these towns, the church-going community is actually much larger than the population of the towns as reported in the census returns would indicate, since the churches draw on the adjoining countryside for no inconsiderable portion of their membership and support. The churches are all, therefore, reasonably strong and self-supporting, except perhaps in certain western communities settled largely either by non-English-speaking groups or else by the adherents of a given religious persuasion, e.g., Mennonites or Doukhobors. Because these churches were thus self-supporting, there had been little pressure exerted on any of them in the coöperative period prior to Union to force an amalgamation, and after the actual consummation of Union certain of these churches preferred to continue their own independent status, as they were at perfect liberty to do. Moreover, in certain instances, a vote favorable to Union had been registered in the Presbyterian church largely on the strength of a definite promise made by the Presbyterian leaders that the local congregation would be submitted to no pressure whatever to consolidate with any other church unless it wished to do so. The newly formed presbyteries of the United Church, however, were occasionally inclined to hurry matters unduly, and while in these instances they may have succeeded in establishing the consolidation desired, it was sometimes at the expense of creating disaffection and minority congregations, as may be seen in a rather notorious case at Moosomin, Saskatchewan.

Naturally, it was simpler to start a minority congregation in the towns than in the countryside; in the country, especially on the prairies, a minority congregation could salvage but a handful at the best; but in the towns there was more of a fighting chance. However, an analysis of all the towns outside of the Province of Ontario makes it perfectly obvious that with few exceptions these minority groups are inconsequential and there are many who feel that it would be no grave loss to the continuing Presbyterian Church as a whole if many of these groups quietly ceased to exist. Most of them were started immediately after the vote in 1925; a few have only recently come into being, but these new creations are almost invariably due to some local issue other than church union. There were, for instance, two towns in Saskatchewan, where minorities were started within the last two years. In Case A., the United Church minister was a former Methodist. A Canadian edition of the Ku Klux Klan was exerting a good deal of political pressure in the province and the minister of the United church attacked the Klan and all its works as a baneful and destructive influence. A member who is alleged to have once studied for the priesthood took umbrage at this attack and summoned the leading non-concurring minister in the province to come and help them organize a minority congregation. When he arrived at the theatre, where the initial service was to be held, he was surprised to find that dodgers had been circulated over the town inviting the people to come to the theatre and "hear a real Protestant minister." About the same time, the business men in Case B., a town of less than 1,500 population, wished to start a hospital. They entered into negotiations with one of the Catholic sisterhoods who have proved their ability to provide hospital accommodation on a most economical basis, partly because this seemed the most economical way to get the hospital and partly because there was a strong Catholic element in the neighboring countryside and it would probably help local business. The movement was, however, opposed by the United church minister, a former Presbyterian, and by most of the members, and this precipitated a discussion which led to the establishment of another minority congregation.

These two cases provide, in excellent relief, aspects of the situation in these towns, at once tragic and comic. While the formation of some of these minority congregations thus rose out of some chance squabble, the net result of their establishment in most cases would seem to have been the provision of an additional bone of contention to the community at large.

In describing statistically the resultant situations in Canadian towns, it is necessary to distinguish quite carefully between the situation in Ontario, that in Quebec and that in the remaining seven provinces.

Quebec

In Quebec, the situation may be quickly described and dismissed. Most of the towns between 1,000 and 10,000 population in this province are exclusively French-Canadian Roman Catholic. Protestantism exists to a negligible extent except in the cities and in certain rural areas in what are called the Eastern Townships, and consequently, for the purposes of this study, the situation in this province is practically unimportant.

Ontario

In Ontario the towns of this class provided some of the staunchest support obtained anywhere by the non-concurring Presbyterians. There are in Ontario 163 such towns or villages, only twenty-eight of which have more than 5,000 inhabitants. The figures presented below are for 104 of these towns, which include practically all the towns (not villages), except those so near to large cities that they really constitute a separate problem, and some eight towns only incorporated as such since 1921.

Class

A. In 61 towns, all the Presbyterian churches voted non-concurrence.
B. In 1 town, one Presbyterian church voted non-concurrence and 1 voted into the Union.
C. In 27 towns, all the Presbyterian churches voted into the Union.
D. In 9 towns, there was only one church before Union, as a result of delimitation during the coöperative period.
E. In 5 towns, there had been actual consolidation of Methodist and Presbyterian churches during the coöperative period.
F. In 1 town there had been only a Methodist church.

In the sixty-one towns in Class A, where all the Presbyterian churches voted non-concurrence, unionist minorities—sometimes small but usually quite large—went over to the former Methodist church. In four of these towns,[20] however, there were also Congregational churches, and in each case there has been a practical consolidation of the church in question with its former Methodist neighbor. In one town, Cobourg, this consolidation was informal and while a paper organization still exists, the Congregational building is not used.

In Perth, the only town in Class B, there was a transfer of unionist and non-concurring minorities.

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[20] Forest, Listowel, Barrie and Cobourg.

In the twenty-seven towns of Class C, non-concurring minority congregations were established at eighteen points; on the other hand, in thirteen towns, consolidations of former Presbyterian and former Methodist churches have been effected.

In Class D, non-concurring minorities have been established at three points: Gravenhurst, Kenora and Thessalon.

In Class E, a minority congregation was established at Cochrane, in New Ontario.

In Class F, there was, of course, no effect of any kind.

The net result, therefore, in these towns has been the establishment of twenty-two minority congregations to offset seventeen consolidations—a net aggregate increase of five churches in the 104 towns as a result of church union.

These 104 towns have had little growth during the past decade. In 1921 their population was 324,449; in 1931, 364,444—an aggregate increase of 40,295, or 12.4 per cent. But in the same decade the population of Canada increased 18.04 per cent., and that of the Province of Ontario as a whole 16.98 per cent. Thirty-five of the towns registered a decrease rather than an increase. It will thus be seen that the population of these towns is fairly static. But the aggregate membership of the churches immediately affected by the church-union movement did not increase in proportion to the population increase.

The membership in the three churches in these towns was as follows:

1923		1930	
Congregational	288	Presbyterians (Continuing)	25,475
Presbyterian	33,023	United Church	55,565
Methodist	44,751		
Total	78,062	Total	81,040

The net increase here is only 2,978, or 3.61 per cent. in seven years—an average annual increase of .51 per cent. as opposed to an average annual increase in the population of 1.24 per cent. It must be admitted quite frankly that any statistics or statements of church-membership in Canada in recent years are apt to be misleading, since prior to Union the Presbyterian churches did not report to the denomination any members that they might have transferred to the reserve roll, but only those whom they considered as active members. The Methodists, on the other hand, reported resident and non-resident members. After Union, the United Church followed the Methodist precedent of reporting both resident and non-resident members, and some of the Presbyterian churches that voted into Union consequently transferred some of the names on their reserve roll to a non-resident membership list. In view of situations of this character, the pre-union and post-union figures are hardly comparable, as the natural tendency would be towards the inflation of the membership roll of the United churches. Such inflation, however, was possibly more than offset by a general deflation of the rolls of former Methodist churches when it became the established custom in the United Church to apportion the missionary and maintenance fund among the churches partly on the basis of the total membership reported. Naturally, the pruning of the rolls was straightway initiated with great earnestness.[21]

A somewhat more accurate estimate of the net result may be indicated in a comparison of the aggregate givings of the churches concerned during 1923 and during 1930, although of course one must bear in mind the fact that 1930 was the first full year of the great depression and that the prevailing economic situations in the country at large in the respective years were not similar.

TABLE XVI—AGGREGATE GIVINGS OF CHURCHES IN 104 TOWNS, 1923 AND 1930

1923	
Unionist Churches	$1,110,283
Congregational	*5,817*
Methodist	*907,803*
Presbyterian	*196,663**
Non-concurring Presby.	516,146*
Total	$1,626,429
1930	
United Churches	1,254,937
Non-concurring Presby.	566,328
Total	$1,821,265

* Total Presbyterian givings before Union, $712,809.

Table XVI shows that, as between the two years, 1923 and 1930, there was a total increase in givings of $194,836, or 11.9 per cent. Thus, while the aggregate membership in 1930 was 104.25 per cent. of the total in 1923, the aggregate givings for all purposes were 111.9 per cent. of the total in 1923, and this despite the fact that the year 1930 was a year of great hardship. The non-concurring churches in 1923 had 23,777 members and raised $516,146. In 1930 these same churches, together with the various non-concurring minorities that had been organized, had a total membership of 25,475 (a net increase of 7.14 per cent.) and had raised $566,328 (a net increase of 9.72 per cent.). The givings of the unionist churches for the two years increased from $1,110,283 to $1,254,937, or 13 per cent.

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[21] That there was such a deflation of the rolls of former Methodist churches became evident to the director of this study as he reviewed individual charts of several hundred churches showing their growth or decline in membership, givings, etc. At first, it seemed that the Union movement may have created more losses in Methodist churches than in Presbyterian churches, until the fact of the general deflation was recognized. Inquiries elicited the fact that the "apportionment" was a large factor in this deflation. In the opinion of the director, however, the deflation had been overdue at the time of Union.

The fact that the givings for all purposes in the churches of these 104 towns showed an increase may be attributed to several factors:

(a) New building enterprises were undertaken in the wake of both consolidations and the organization of minority congregations.
(b) There was a general tendency to raise ministers' salaries.
(c) There developed a competitive temper on the part of unionist and non-concurrent churches alike.
(d) With or without union, there would probably have been such increased givings.

If, however, one assumes that an important objective in church union was the "saving of men and money," so far as these more or less static towns were concerned, there were more churches in 1930 than in 1923, and the churches took 11.9 per cent. more money for all purposes in 1930 than they did in 1923.

Western and Maritime Provinces

It would be unfair, however, to judge the success or failure of the church-union movement by its results in the towns of Ontario, since in these towns non-concurrence scored most heavily. When one examines the situation in the western and Maritime provinces a different tendency is made clear. In these seven provinces there are 148 towns in all. In thirty of these, the Presbyterian churches voted non-concurrence. In forty-one additional towns non-concurring minority congregations were established and still continue. In short, in seventy-one of these 148 towns non-concurring Presbyterian congregations still exist.

On the other hand, in 146 of these 148 towns the United Church is represented by at least one strong congregation. One of the two towns in which there is no United church is St. George, N. B. This town of 1,087 inhabitants was always strongly Presbyterian, and the census of 1921 indicated only eight persons with Methodist preferences. The St. George Presbyterian Church voted non-concurrence and no unionist minority attempted to form a separate congregation. In one other New Brunswick town, Richibucto, a somewhat amusing situation exists. This town reported 1,158 inhabitants in 1921 and of these 1,115 were Roman Catholic and 1,104 were French Canadians.[22] It is in the heart of Kent County, which is also almost entirely French-Canadian Roman Catholic; out of 23,914 inhabitants, there are 17,983 French Canadians and 19,470 Roman Catholics. Before Union there was a tiny Presbyterian congregation at Richibucto, attached to the Rexton field. This Richibucto congregation voted 6 to 2 in favor of entering the Union, and a Presbyterian minority was formed. Richibucto is consequently reported in the 1932 Year Books as a preaching point in both United and Presbyterian churches. Both congregations are in three-point fields; the United Church field has an aggregate membership of 271 and is self-supporting, having raised over $4,000 in 1931. The Presbyterian field has an aggregate membership of 47 and the total amount raised during 1931 was approximately $1,500. The display of such conviction may or may not have an effect upon the dominant Catholic majority.

In the 146 towns in these seven provinces in which the United Church has congregations and churches, practically all competition between the former Methodist and Presbyterian churches has been eliminated, except in those cases where the non-concurring Presbyterians either held their church in the voting or formed minorities as indicated above. In 131 of these 146 towns, there is today only one United church, leaving only fifteen places in which more than one such church exists. While the absence of overlapping of United churches is due in certain instances to adjustments made in the pre-union coöperative period, it has been mostly brought about by local consolidations since Union. Thus, wherever the local congregations of the United Church in these towns have had it in their power to bring about a consolidation that was really needed in the interests of real efficiency, they have done so.

The fifteen towns that have more than one United church are classified as follows:

Province	Class I Over 5,000 Inhabitants	Class II 3,000–5,000 Inhabitants	Class III 1,000–3,000 Inhabitants	Total
Manitoba	2	..	3	5
British Columbia	3	..	..	3
Nova Scotia	2	1	..	3
New Brunswick	1	2	..	3
Saskatchewan	1	..	..	1
Alberta	..	..	..	..
Prince Edward Island	..	..	..	..
	9	3	3	15

The nine towns in the first class are all well able to support two or more United churches. The three towns in the third class are all in Manitoba;

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[22] The census of 1931 reports fewer than 1,000 inhabitants.

they are small but self-supporting, and with the exception of Knox Church, Souris, each church has a preaching station connected with it, and consequently, a consolidation would necessitate a readjustment of rural fields as well as an amalgamation of churches in the immediate community.

A situation in the second class, found in a study of St. Stephen, N. B., directly across the River St. Croix from Calais, Maine, may perhaps be described in some detail because it represents the kind of situation that has occurred elsewhere in towns of this general character. The population is 3,432. The former Methodist church in St. Stephen was organized 146 years ago by a Scottish Highlander, Duncan McColl, who travelled all the way to Connecticut to receive ordination in the Methodist Episcopal Church. This church, consequently, is one of the oldest Methodist churches in the Dominion and prides itself on its traditions. The former Presbyterian church, called the Kirk, was connected originally with the Church of Scotland, and its membership of 214 voted into the Union 115 to 87. At the height of the controversy the non-concurrent Presbyterians stated that if the Kirk voted into the Union, it would be forced to consolidate with the Methodist church and to give up its property, the McColl Methodist Church having much the larger edifice. The unionist advocates retorted that nothing of the kind would be done, and thus more or less committed themselves against a local consolidation. After the vote, a non-concurring minority congregation was formed, which included quite a number of well-to-do people. This congregation proceeded to build a new church on rather simple lines, believing, it is alleged, that their defection would force the consolidation of the two United churches and that in such a case they would be able once again to secure their old church building, while the new edifice could be easily converted into a Town Hall. Among those who helped to build the new church were men who were annoyed that the two United churches would not consolidate, one of the donors being the husband of one of the best workers in the McColl Church and the father of the superintendent of its cradle roll. So far all proposals for local consolidation have been fruitless. The most important factors in this failure would seem to be:

1. The natural fear on the part of both groups that they might have to give up *their* building.
2. The promise made by the unionists in the Kirk before Union that no pressure would be exerted to effect such a consolidation if the Kirk voted into the United Church.
3. A fear that if consolidation were effected, some of the members of the Kirk might go over to the non-concurring Presbyterians, especially if they were to obtain possession of the old church.

4. A desire on the part of a few to do nothing which might possibly let the property of the Kirk fall into the hands of the non-concurring group, as, it is alleged, this group wishes.

An interesting fact in the whole situation is that, in spite of the secession in 1925, the Kirk has attained its pre-union strength in membership, as a result of in influx of Presbyterians into the town from a rural area to the north which had gone almost solidly unionist, and that the aggregate givings of this church since Union have shown a steady increase each year until, in 1930, its total givings were 40 per cent. more than the givings in 1924. On the other hand, the McColl Church, while still possibly the stronger of the two, has suffered not only by death but also by the closing down of a shoe factory which led to the removal of a considerable number of Methodist families.

As already intimated, in forty-four of these 148 towns non-concurrent Presbyterian minority congregations have been formed. Three of these congregations were all but still-born; forty-one survive. The total membership of these minority congregations, as reported in the 1932 Blue Book, is only 3,970, or an average of 97 per congregation. This represents their total growth in approximately seven years, and it is difficult to see any real future before them. Sixteen of these minority groups are in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick where the population has been practically static for decades; twenty-one are in prairie provinces where, owing to the dominance of agriculture and the largeness of the farms, the number of large towns will probably be limited for years. In a few instances they are supported largely by a few well-to-do men, and if these men have not lost their money during the depression, or if they attain a reasonable longevity, or if after death they continue their present beneficence in legacies, all may continue as now. If the towns themselves experience any unexpected growth, especially in immigrants from Scotland and the North of Ireland, these minority congregations may, in a few instances, have a fighting chance. Otherwise, it would not seem to require any marked gifts of prophecy to foretell their doom.

Where, however, the churches originally voted non-concurrence, the situation is somewhat different. Even under the most favorable circumstances in Ontario, the churches in towns of 1,000 to 10,000 inhabitants which voted non-concurrence have a smaller aggregate membership today than they had in 1925. In sixty-two towns in that province the aggregate membership in 1923 of the Presbyterian churches that voted non-concurrence was 23,777. Twenty-six of these churches have attained or surpassed today their pre-union membership strength, the aggregate increase being 1,159; thirty-six, however, have shown a net decrease in membership, the aggregate decrease being 2,841. The membership of all the non-concurring churches in the sixty-two towns indicates, therefore, a net decrease of 1,682, or 27.1 members per town.[23]

On the other hand, the incorporation of unionist minority groups from non-concurring Presbyterian churches in former Methodist churches, and the consolidations of former Presbyterian-Methodist, Methodist-Congregational and Presbyterian-Congregational churches have resulted, in the United churches, in an enhancement of strength, and in an optimism that is reflected in the membership and givings of practically every town uninfluenced by purely local economic conditions. In towns of this class, more than anywhere else, one may read the positive results of church union in the renewed vitality which has developed from the actual syncretism of differences in polity, worship and doctrinal emphasis brought about in the interests of comprehension rather than of compromise. The very process of the fusion itself, although instinct with superlative difficulties, has released certain new energies of a spiritual character, and has led to an eagerness for experiment, a liberality in temper, an open-mindedness to new forms of service, new types of architecture, new responses to religious suggestion. Many hitherto untried procedures in church government and order—an experimental eclecticism, if one cares so to phrase it—have been enthusiastically adopted. Not a few of these may perhaps be dissipated in disappointment and disillusionment, but the process of trial and error finds the good soil in which a lively faith will flourish.

THE RURAL COMMUNITIES

As has already been indicated in chapter i, the census of 1931 revealed that the rural population of Canada was, for the first time in its history, less than the urban population. This statement, however, requires explanation, for the method of computing the rural population used in Canada differs from that followed in the United States. In the latter country the population of all towns and villages of fewer than 2,500 inhabitants is considered rural. In Canada, on the other hand, the population of all cities, towns and incorporated villages is considered urban, and there are considerable variations in the provisions of the various provinces for the incorporation of villages. Thus, the laws of Saskatchewan permit a community of fifty people "actually resident on an area not greater than 640 acres" to be incorporated as a village; in Ontario, the law at present in force requires that "villages asking for incorporation shall have a population of 750 on an area not exceeding 500 acres."[24] It is thus evident that many tiny communities are included in the urban population which, for comparative purposes at least, might just as well be considered rural.

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[23] One town, St. Mary's, had two non-concurring churches.

[24] *Canada Year Book,* 1932, p. 99.

According to the 1931 census, the urban population of Canada was 53.71 per cent. of the total population, and the rural population 46.29 per cent. However, 3.97 per cent. of the whole population is found in 1,072 villages with fewer than 1,000 inhabitants. If these villages were considered rural the urban population of Canada would then be only 49.74 per cent., or not quite half the total population. If one were to go still further and exclude from the urban population 324 communities with more than 1,000 and fewer than 3,000 inhabitants, the urban population would be only 44.37 per cent. of the total population. It thus becomes apparent that the rural population, if considered only from the point of view of numbers, is still the most significant group in the Dominion and offers the greatest challenge to the Christian church to provide adequately for the needs of the people in the farms and villages.

Problems of Churching Rural Areas

The difficulties confronting those who would provide churches for the rural area are intensified in the Dominion by the low density of population, the severities of the climate, the condition of the highways, the general conservatism of rural psychology and the relatively high standards of general education which The United Church of Canada requires in her ordinands. The significance of most of these conditions has already been considered in chapter i and need only be re-asserted at this point.

In regard to the low density of population, it should be pointed out that the latest census returns indicate that in the eastern provinces the size of the average farm is increasing and the total number of farms diminishing. The reasons for such changes are fairly obvious and may largely be traced to the mechanization of agriculture. The size of the average farm in Ontario is now about 120 acres, which some students of the situation declare is about "exactly the wrong size"—too large for intensive cultivation without a large capital expenditure in machinery and too small to give adequate profits on the required outlay for such machinery. The concomitant of this enlargement of the farms in the eastern provinces is a substantial depopulation which began with the opening up of the West in the last decade of the 19th century. The offers of free land drew away from the counties of Ontario and the Maritime provinces young men before whom opportunities of betterment were rapidly fading. Their grandfathers had cleared the forests; their fathers were beginning to secure a comfortable living, but at the same time were unwilling to divide their holdings with the sons as they came to maturity. There was no other free land in the neighborhood. The sons, therefore, had the choice of remaining where they were with a status hardly higher than that of a hired man, of abandoning agriculture and going to the cities and towns, or of going West. Perhaps the majority went West. At all events the rural population of the eastern provinces steadily decreased.

It might be surmised that, even with such a decrease in population, the problem of adequately churching the rural area would have been solved by the improvement in the highways and the general use of the automobile. To a very large degree this is true, especially in the more settled provinces and where centres of population are more numerous. At the same time it must be remembered that over vast areas in the prairie provinces today an improved highway is still a gravel road which, during the winter months with the thermometer at 40 degrees below zero, may or may not prove inviting. The vast majority of the roads on the prairies, however, are not thus improved, but are closely related to the soil of the provinces themselves and under heavy rains turn into an almost impassable "gumbo," through which progress is slow at the best and often extremely dangerous. In the spring of 1932, the superintendent of missions of the United Church in northern Saskatchewan was marooned for a month because of road conditions.

In the Maritime provinces there are practically no warrenite or concrete roads outside of the cities and towns. A few main highways are well gravelled and during the summer, well-maintained, possibly with an eye to the tourist traffic. But here again the side roads during the winter and after the thaws of the spring are very difficult, and for approximately three months automobiles must be put up. In the older parts of Ontario the farming districts are being increasingly served by excellent highways but once again winter conditions may practically drive into hibernation those farmers who happen to live on many of the side roads.[25] These conditions militate against the success either of the consolidated school or of the consolidated church, and for the time being render necessary the continuation of the policy of maintaining a large number of small churches in the same general neighborhood, or circuit, since the farmers think it better for the minister to drive twenty miles on a wintry Sunday than for his congregation to do so. Under favorable circumstances they might be willing to go a few miles to church, but they will not go any considerable distance if the roads are rough or the weather bitterly cold.

Re-grouping Rather Than Consolidation

It is true that some of the western provinces, notably Manitoba, have developed to a very remarkable degree the consolidated schools, and with few exceptions the school districts that have been joined together have been satisfied with such an adjustment. Altogether there are in Manitoba some 110 such consolidated school districts.[26] In the other prairie provinces, however, the progress of the consolidated school movement has been much slower, especially as it has been found that the expense of transporting the pupils to such a school not infrequently equals or even exceeds the total cost of tuition. In Ontario the provincial government is more than willing to coöperate with school districts that desire to consolidate their efforts, but it has found it inadvisable to urge such consolidations for it has had to face the outstanding fact of rural conservatism. Occasionally the trustees of a small rural school have opposed consolidation out of the fear of additional expense or of dangers to children in their public transportation to and from school—even more, perhaps, because of a suspicion that their own powers might be curtailed in the readjustment.

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[25] In the last ten years Ontario has spent $175,000,000 on highways.

Such conservatism in respect to schools also holds, perhaps even to a greater degree, in respect to churches. The little cross-roads church may have a bleak exterior and be barren within; it may provide no adequate equipment for any kind of community life; but it has been for half a century or more the church of the fathers, and in the adjoining churchyard are the graves of the men and women who hewed down the hardwood forests of Ontario and put that particular community "on the map." Thus, the progress of the consolidated rural church is bound to be slow in Canada. It will only develop as highways and the methods of keeping them open in winter are improved; as the rural population is permitted to observe what a consolidated rural church may mean in increased efficiency and in the enrichment of community life itself; and finally, as the economic status of the farmer is elevated to the point where the communities feel themselves able to undertake the additional expense of building a modern consolidated church to accompany a modern consolidated school.

The church-union movement has provided in some rural communities such a disposition of the church forces that today The United Church of Canada could, if the rural communities themselves were willing, advantageously proceed to consolidate many of these small churches into one. To do so under present conditions, however, would be extremely hazardous and might end only in accentuating the drift away from the rural churches. There has not, therefore, been, in spite of sporadic consolidations in villages, any marked diminution of preaching points in the United Church since its organization in 1925. It is difficult to state with accuracy the figures on this point although in general Table XVII may prove the basis of such an analysis.

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[26] The children are transported for the most part in horse-drawn, canvas-covered wagons, containing stoves.

TABLE XVII—PREACHING POINTS SERVED BY THE UNITED CHURCH
(EXCLUDING BERMUDA)

	1925	*1927*	*1928*	*1929*	*1930*	*1931*
Nova Scotia	636	523	534	503	515	529
New Brunswick	444	374	377	384	376	374
Prince Edward Island	117	105	104	104	103	104
Newfoundland	334	240	277	284	322	320
Quebec	643	309	324	319	315	330
Ontario	2,530	2,542	2,535	2,488*	2,571	2,512
Manitoba	746	632	660	607	599	582
Saskatchewan	1,394	1,310	1,340	1,317	1,300	1,277
Alberta	1,103	892	957	933	951	891
British Columbia	629	529	544	590†	570	692†
Totals	8,576‡	7,456	7,652*	7,529*	7,622	7,611

* These totals do not agree with those in the United Church *Year Books.* Guelph presbytery failed to report in 1929. In the returns from the Ottawa presbytery there was a deficiency of 64 preaching stations in 1928 and of 57 in 1929.

† These sudden increases in British Columbia are deceptive, and are due to the inclusion of points touched by mission boats on the Pacific, e.g., Alert Bay, etc. These points were not so included previously.

‡ This total differs from that officially published in 1925 since it omits Trinidad, which is now under the board of foreign missions.

The figures given for 1925 are official figures issued at the time Union was consummated. Unfortunately, however, this table includes a good many preaching points which were counted twice, since under the coöperative method a field might be included in both Presbyterian and Methodist statistics, and occasionally in Congregational statistics. While it is impossible to give exactly the number of such duplications, the total of 8,576 would probably have to be diminished by at least 600, if not more, because of such repetitions. Outside of the Peace River area in northern Alberta and a few points in northern Saskatchewan and New Ontario, the number of new points opened by the United Church since 1925 has been comparatively small. When, therefore, one considers the reduction in the total number of points due to consolidation in cities and towns, it becomes reasonably clear that the reduction in the total number of preaching points has been practically negligible. Consequently we may assume that the main effect of the church-union movement on the rural communities has not been in the obliteration of small congregations, but rather in the rearrangement of fields whereby a minister has been given a somewhat more compact parish than he had before Union, and whereby the salaries of such ministers have been kept, except for the last two years of the depression, at a higher level than before Union. To be sure, certain unprofitable preaching points have sometimes been dropped or new points added. This is particularly true of the prairie provinces where in many rural areas the preaching services are held in the schoolhouse; where a congregation has no property stake it is of course a comparatively simple matter to shift a preaching point from one schoolhouse to another as the centre of population and the convenience of the field as a whole render such a step advisable. In a good many instances in Ontario, too, one finds today small rural churches with cemeteries adjoining which are used only on funeral occasions or where perhaps an occasional service is held with the purpose of fulfilling the conditions required for the exemption from taxation of church property. In general, however, *the rural churches have experienced as a result of church union only a re-grouping which, on the whole, has been in the interest of efficiency and economy.*

Outlying Congregations

In certain instances, however, the same complications followed church union in the rural areas as were found in the cities and towns. Here, for instance, a former Presbyterian field, consisting of a central nucleus and one or more outlying congregations, would take a vote in 1925. If the vote were favorable to the Union and the various outlying stations voted as the central congregation had voted, there was generally no particular change in the situation. But it frequently happened that one or more of the satellites voted differently, and consequently found themselves isolated from what might be called the mother church. If the mother church had voted non-concurrence and a satellite had voted into the Union, the satellite might be deprived of its minister whose main support had been furnished by the mother church. If the minister had been a unionist he might be forced to resign from the ministry of the central congregation and find himself left with merely the pittance which came to him from the out-stations. It, therefore, became necessary to make various kinds of readjustments. Lone churches had to be attached to other congregations in the neighborhood which were able to look after them; sometimes an outlying church had to be found for a congregation which had hitherto been one unit in a self-supporting field but, having been deprived by the vote of some of the congregations formerly associated with it, was now unable to pay the minimum salary unless it was reinforced by the addition of a new preaching station.

Ex Uno Plura

Then again, minority congregations were formed in rural areas. These do not appear to any marked extent in the western provinces, but certain cases, for example, Guthrie, may be found in Ontario where a community which before had but one church now has two as a result of the church-union controversy. The prize exhibit of such disruptions of communities, formerly religiously homogeneous, may be found in the Maritime provinces. In the three provinces by the Atlantic, non-concurrent minority congregations were established in forty-eight communities, most of them small hamlets. Nineteen of these were in Nova Scotia, ten were in Prince Edward Island and nineteen were in New Brunswick. In addition, unionist minority congregations were established at thirty points, nearly all of which were in Nova Scotia. The main centres of difficulty were Cape Breton and Pictou County, which, prior to Union, had been all but solidly Presbyterian.[27] In Cape Breton, one of the loveliest spots in all the world, where the Bras D'Or offers a marine landscape almost unequalled in Christendom, every prospect pleases and only churchmen are unyielding. One after the other, idyllic communities were shattered and there are repeated instances of the old Presbyterian church, still Presbyterian, with a United church now perched beside it, or of the old church, now United, with a non-concurrent church keeping watch over it.

In one such community an elder in the village answered the query of the director of this study concerning the sources of the difficulty by stating simply: "In my opinion, the devil got into us." In another village, a man who kept the corner "department-store" had been despatched as an elder to the Port Arthur General Assembly in 1923. He had intended to vote against the Union, but *en route* he was converted to the unionist cause. On his return, his store was boycotted and he was forced to sell out and move into another place. Here, too, a widow and her son were inclined to unionism, but she was effectually deterred from voting for Union when she was told that if she persisted in her attitude and the church voted non-concurrence, they would not allow her body to be buried beside her husband in the churchyard.

In another place, the row antedated the church-union controversy. After the War, the congregation had decided to erect a memorial to the men slain in France. One group in the church favored a central monument in front of the building; the other urged individual plaques, on the walls of the church, to the various men who had lost their lives. Just as this issue had been bitterly fought through, the church-union controversy emerged, and the two cliques lined up on that issue exactly as they had lined up on the other. When non-concurrence won, the unionists immediately went out and erected a new church directly behind the other, and now the original church is unable to support a full-time minister. There is another non-concurrent church less than nine miles away, but it is impossible to work the two fields with one man since, as the director was told, in "A" the non-concurrent Presbyterians are all conservatives in politics, while in "B" they are all liberals, and of course they cannot work together.

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[27] Certain counties in Cape Breton are almost solidly Roman Catholic.

In another village, after non-concurrence won, the unionists secured an old and abandoned Methodist church which was situated some twenty miles away, hauled it down the river and located it alongside the former church from which they had seceded. The two churches hold services at the same hour on Sunday morning. They are separated from each other by a row of tall evergreen trees, under which the countrymen tether their horses during worship, the Presbyterian horses and the United horses facing each other, nose to nose, in apparent friendliness. Church attendance has increased in this community as a result of the rivalry created, which, for the time being, seems to have stimulated an interest in religion. How long will it last?

Many of the unionist minorities asked help to establish their church, and some of them received it. Their petitions, however, put the United Church in an embarrassing position, for the granting of such petitions seemed on the surface to militate against the fundamental unity of the community which had been so openly avowed by the unionists during the controversy. The unionists pointed out, however, that they did not wish to attend a church or to have their children trained in a church in which the dominant group had committed itself to an exclusively Presbyterian point of view, and consequently the formation of such churches was permitted. Needless to say, however, the ultimate determining issues in these situations were often not religious at all.

Minority groups have also been established in some rural areas since 1925 as the result of disaffection. An outstanding case of this kind may be found in an Ontario village of 882 inhabitants where the Presbyterian church, with its satellite, voted into Union. The Methodist church, to which an out-station was also attached, was, however, stronger than the Presbyterian church. In addition to these two churches, there were three others—a Roman Catholic, an Anglican and a Gospel Holiness Workers' church. When the former Presbyterian church showed signs of weakness and inability to maintain its budget, the suggestion was made that the minister be given the charge of the out-station served by the former Methodist church. The latter, however, saw no point in surrendering the station, which had been long attached to it, when such a transfer simply meant that its congregation would have to raise that much more money towards the minister's salary. The former Presbyterian church then suggested that, as a preliminary to a possible consolidation, all the officers of both churches tender their resignations, that the two churches then be consolidated and a new panel of officers be elected. The officials of the former Methodist church, for some reason, did not approve this measure. Thereupon, while both churches were holding union services during the summer in the former Methodist church, and the former Presbyterian church was pastorless, the majority of the former Presbyterians reopened their church, called a non-concurrent Presbyterian minister, installed him in the manse, which they seized, and asked the local presbytery of the continuing Presbyterian church to admit them as a congregation to that body. The presbytery heard their case and granted their petition, but the United Church took legal action to acquaint the seceders with the law involved in the matter. Some of the former Presbyterians are now in the former Methodist church, but in this instance a church which had been loyal to the United Church for at least three years suddenly bolted because of local friction.

Power of the Presbytery

The vast majority of these minority churches in rural communities would seem, however, to be doomed, together with most of the minority congregations. Meanwhile the United Church continues to realign the churches and congregations of this character and to readjust the bounds of pastoral charges. The originating force in determining these various permutations and combinations of preaching stations is the presbytery. In some respects the powers of the presbytery are limited to advice, but there are various avenues of persuasion open to it which practically give it coercive power. There is, for example, an accepted minimum salary for every active, ordained, married minister in the United Church. If a pastoral charge is not able to raise such an amount, it must either take on a sufficient number of preaching points to enable it to be self-supporting, or else it must receive a grant from the board of home missions to make up the difference between what it guarantees its minister and what the minimum requires. The board of home missions will not give such a grant, however, without the approval first of presbytery and secondly of the conference committee on home missions. Consequently, if a local church is not self-supporting it must take the advice of presbytery. The desire of presbytery is for the most part to have, as far as possible, only self-supporting pastoral charges within its bounds, and therefore it does not ask for grants for any particular pastoral charge unless it feels that the efficient manning of the churches in the presbytery can only be achieved with such a grant. Its recommendations go up to conference home-missions committee and the conference committee is supposed to challenge any apparent extravagance before it sends on the recommendations of presbytery to the board of home missions.

It is quite obvious that such a procedure created, in the first years of Union, a number of somewhat tense situations and there were some instances in which congregations were willing to accept the services of a minister in a neighboring church, while at the same time they jealously preserved their own independence and refused to be incorporated with the neighboring church in one pastoral charge. In short, one discovers instances in presbyteries in which two pastoral charges are listed as served by the same minister.[28]

Rearrangement of Fields

Where only former Methodist churches were concerned in the rearrangement of fields no particular difficulties were experienced, as they had been accustomed to such modifications of the bounds of circuit throughout their entire history. Where only Presbyterian churches were concerned, adjustments were also comparatively simple, although at this point the assertion of the rights of the individual congregation did tend to complicate matters. Where, however, the effort was made to consolidate in one pastoral charge congregations formerly belonging to more than one of the three denominations concerned, complications developed. Within thirty miles of Toronto, for instance, there is such a rural, three-point pastoral charge today, where one of the congregations was formerly Presbyterian, one was formerly Methodist, and one formerly Congregational.

Ordinarily, in cases of this character the constituent churches must change their method of local church government to conform with that required in the Basis of Union, although there still seems to be a good deal of variety practised in the methods used by such local congregations in selecting their representatives to the official board, which is the governing body of the pastoral charge. When such a pastoral charge is once formed, whether it is self-supporting or not, it has the right to call its own minister. As a rule the official board of the church extends the call, especially if it is authorized to do so by the various congregations concerned; in other cases the constituent congregations may appoint a joint committee to consider available men, either with power to act or with instructions to refer back to the congregations for approval before final action. For the most part, difficulties of this kind tend to solve themselves, for congregations in such pastoral charges have in the last analysis no great choice but must take whom they can get. Indeed, one suspects that as time goes on fields of this character will, if wisely dealt with, tend increasingly to leave the selection of their minister to the settlement committee of the conference on the recommendation of their presbytery members on such committees.

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[28] E.g., Glen Sandfield and Dalhousie Mills in the Glengarry Presbytery.

There has been some feeling on the part of the board of home missions that the board should have certain rights of recommendation and approval in the selection of a minister if it is called upon to furnish any part of his salary. So far, however, presbytery and conference between them have steadfastly maintained their sole authority in the matter, and it would seem perfectly obvious that this is the general policy of the United Church, except in the selection of student supplies and lay supplies, which, it has been ruled, falls entirely within the competence of the board of home missions. Some feel that it would be better for the board of home missions, instead of making its grants directly to specific churches, to make them, on the basis of the recommendations received from the conference committees on home missions, to conferences or presbyteries, and thus leave the distribution of the grants, together with all readjustments that might be necessary, to the subordinate bodies. Those who take this view believe that still greater economy might thus be effected, since it would be simpler for a presbytery committee, for instance, than for the board, to bring the necessary pressure on a congregation that was not doing all that it might towards the support of its minister. Those who oppose such a change argue that the giving of grants directly to conferences or presbyteries might result in too many bank balances in various parts of the country, while the church as a whole was forced to borrow money for her immediate needs; further, that the placing of such power in local hands might provide too great an opportunity for local jealousies and local politics in securing grants on the general principle of "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours."

It is unfortunately impossible to state with statistical accuracy the actual number of preaching points that have been dropped in the course of these readjustments or the comparative distances between such preaching points in the average pre-union pastoral charge and in the present pastoral charge in the United Church. Unfortunately, the names of the preaching points served by the former Methodist Church were never given in the annual *Year Book,* although the former Presbyterian Church gave not only the name of each local congregation but also its separate statistics. The only way, therefore, in which an approximation to accuracy may be obtained is in the intensive study of a few counties, and of course one cannot be sure that the counties selected are typical of the country at large or even of the province.

A study of this character made in Grey County (Ontario) indicates that since Union consolidations of Methodist and Presbyterian churches in rural communities had been effected at four points (Shell Lake, Hepworth, Priceville and Chatsworth). Prior to Union there had been two consolidations in the rural part of the county, (1) Elmwood Methodist with Malcolm Presbyterian Church and (2) Kemble, where the former Methodist church is now used as a public library. Non-concurring minorities, on the other hand, have been formed at Priceville and Banks, a total of six consolidations, offset by the formation of two minority groups.

Similarly, in Ontario County there were, prior to Union, consolidations at three points (Beaverton, Greenbank and Claremont), and since Union, five more (Brooklin, Brougham, Columbus, Pickering and Sunderland), or eight consolidations in all. In several instances in this county the church which was no longer in use has been torn down as if to avoid the possibility of any recurrence to the pre-coöperative status. There is much to be said for this procedure, however ruthless it may seem.

In this county, too, may be observed, in the case of Pickering, one of the delicate problems created by a consolidation in a small village. Pickering is an old village among whose settlers one hundred years ago were not a few Quakers. In 1925 there were in this hamlet a Roman Catholic church, an Anglican church, a Methodist church, a Presbyterian church (which entered the Union) and an old Friends' meeting-house only occasionally used. The present town hall was formerly a United Presbyterian church, while directly across the road from it is a garage which bears beneath its eaves a tablet indicating that it was originally a Bible Christian church—one of the churches that went into the Methodist union of 1883.

So far as the present buildings are concerned, there was not much to choose between the Presbyterian church and the Methodist church. After Union the young people of the two churches were the first to get together and hold joint services. Then the two churches united in calling one minister to serve both parishes, but each church preserved its individual identity. At first the services were held in one church one Sunday, and in the other church on the next Sunday. This did not prove quite satisfactory, and the next step was to hold services for a month at a time in one church and the following month in the other. Finally, it was decided to use one church for a community hall and the other church for worship. It was difficult, however, because of local feeling and the similar character of the two churches, to decide which church was to be used as the sanctuary. Advice was asked from the General Council, and a commission was sent consisting of four men, of whom two were former Presbyterians and two former Methodists. A service was held in one church with the congregation, choir and minister in their usual places. After this was over, they all adjourned to the other church, where a second service was held. Everything was done with reverence. The members of the commission did not discuss the matter together, but handed in their personal reactions in writing as individuals. As a result, it was decided to retain the Methodist church for worship and to convert the Presbyterian church into a hall. Among the reasons that governed this decision were the facts that the floor in one church was better adapted to games than in the other, and that there was more ground in the rear for tennis courts, etc. In a great many similar communities visited by the director of this study a somewhat similar evolution in local consolidation has been witnessed, and in many cases the loyalty of a group to its own building has made a development similar to that at Pickering more or less inevitable.

In the county of Dufferin, a recent survey indicated that the total number of congregations of all denominations in this county had been reduced from eighty-eight in 1900 to seventy-five in 1930. In 1900 there were fifty-nine congregations in the Presbyterian, Methodist or Congregational churches in Dufferin County. In 1930 there were thirty-six United churches and eleven continuing Presbyterian churches, or forty-seven all together. In the same thirty years the number of Anglican churches had been reduced from nineteen to sixteen. There had been no change in the number of Roman Catholic or Baptist churches. The decrease of the number of congregations in this county may be attributed to two chief causes, first, to depopulation which led various denominations to discontinue work in certain places, and secondly, to amalgamations preceding and following Union. The decrease in the number of congregations in this county has not kept pace, however, with the decrease in the population, which has declined more than 35 per cent. since 1891.

The Rural Ministry

The best information regarding rural church life in Canada is contained in the county studies recently made by Prof. J. R. Watts, of Queen's Theological College, Kingston, under the auspices of the board of home missions of the United Church. The one was made in Dufferin County, Ontario, which is almost purely rural in its character; the other, in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, a county which, though the first settlement was made prior to 1776 by Congregationalists from New England, has since the war of the American Revolution been strongly Methodist.[29] In this county is the Chignecto peninsula, which joins Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It is readily understandable, by anyone who has sought to gather the unavailable, how Dr. Watts felt obliged to admit that his statistics were not 100 per cent. accurate, but there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the figures that he offers, and the fact that these studies were made under the auspices of the board of home missions of the United Church serves to indicate that the United Church itself is sensitized to the seriousness of the rural problem that confronts it. Without quoting exhaustively the figures gathered by Dr. Watts, it may be said that his conclusions confirm those of the other more casual studies of rural districts made in the course of this research.

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[29] A third study, not complete at the time of writing, is in process in the West.

Dr. Watts compares, for instance, sixty of the seventy-five churches in Dufferin County with the thirty-six churches in that county connected with the United Church, especially in respect to the number of families and membership, with the results shown in Table XVIII.

TABLE XVIII—CHURCHES IN DUFFERIN COUNTY COMPARED BY NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND MEMBERS

No. of Families	Sixty Churches No.	Sixty Churches Per Cent.	Thirty-six United Churches No.	Thirty-six United Churches Per Cent.
1– 15	9	15.0	3	8.3
16– 25	17	28.3	9	25.0
26– 50	19	31.7	14	38.9
51–100	9	15.0	6	16.6
101–150	3	5.0	2	5.6
151–200	1	1.7	1	2.8
Over 200	2	3.3	1	2.8
Total	60	100.0	36	100.0

No. of Members	No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.
1– 15	3	5.0	0	..
16– 25	5	8.3	1	2.8
26– 50	19	31.7	13	36.2
51– 75	11	18.3	6	16.6
76–100	7	11.7	6	16.6
101–150	6	10.0	3	8.3
151–200	3	5.0	2	5.6
201–300	3	5.0	3	8.3
301–400	1	1.7	0	..
401–500	2	3.3	2	5.6
Total	60	100.0	36	100.0

As Dr. Watts properly deduces, this table indicates that the average family and membership strength of the United Church is above the county average. But he points out that, on the whole, the equipment is poor. In about thirty of the congregations there is no provision for social purposes other than the auditorium, and in all these cases the auditorium is the only room available for Sunday-school and young people's work.

> "Many of the buildings, while in a good state of repair, were built at a time when the chief purpose to be served was congregational worship, and many of those provided since, while recognizing that a church building has other purposes to serve than that of worship, do not take sufficiently into account the significance of these other purposes."

He further points out a prevailing weakness in Sunday-school and young people's work:

> "At least twenty of the schools are too small for effective work, the three or four classes reported not allowing for effective grading, or the stimulus and the broader activity that is possible in larger groupings. . . . Outside the Anglican Church, very little systematic effort is reported to prepare children for church-membership. On the whole, it would probably be just to say that the work with young people is the least effective of all the work the church is doing. But this is not a censure of the ministers. It is meant to be a criticism of the conditions under which they do their work. All is being done in the circumstances which could fairly be expected.
>
> "Three things make the most effective work for young people impossible. The first is inadequate equipment for a complete program, but that has already been pointed out and need not be enlarged upon. The second cause is the distribution of the ministers' energy over too many centres of work. The minister who has three preaching places or two services per Sunday in one centre and an outside appointment is not able to give the interests of the Sunday school much attention. Such fields by their very character deprive themselves to a large extent of the services of the minister as a leader in religious education, and that is a condition very deeply to be deplored.
>
> "One minister reports that in his charge, a two-point charge, it was recently decided to change the former custom of one service in each place for an arrangement giving the home congregation morning and evening services and the outstation an afternoon service. It was done in the supposed interest of economy. But it takes him away from the home Sunday school, with the result that there has been a decided let-down in the interest and effectiveness of the work."

In his survey of Cumberland County, Dr. Watts reaches practically identical conclusions, and with them the director of this study is in complete agreement. He would go a step farther, however, and suggest that when a minister spreads himself over three, four or more preaching stations, with small congregations, repeating generally the same sermon on a given Sunday and lacking the stimulus of a larger group to keep abreast of modern needs in religious education, the minister grows stale and loses whatever vision he may have brought to his parish with him. In his various visits, the director has not yet come across a single rural parish where the minister was promoting anything that approximated a modern program for the church. The ministers did not even seem to have any particular idea of what constituted a modern program, and a survey of their libraries indicated that they were hardly putting in their leisure time in pursuits designed to increase their intellectual equipment.

Those whose task it is to stimulate the thinking of the rank and file of the ministry have confessed repeatedly to the writer that they have been chagrined by the intellectual inertia of many of the rural pastors—men who have done well in college and seminary but have gone to seed in their parishes. On the frontier, there is a certain up-and-at-them spirit that pulls the frontier "sky-pilot" out of his ruts, but in the rural areas of the East, with their diminishing populations and their staid conservatism, the average minister is likely to yield to intellectual stagnation. His salary, while small, may be somewhat better than the average salary of a minister in the United States similarly placed, and his educational attainments may have been superior, but he has not yet been given a man's job.

Non-Anglo-Saxons

In some of the older areas in the western provinces, the United Church is now facing a serious situation caused by the extrusion of the Anglo-Saxon stock by non-Anglo-Saxons, as is demonstrated in Table XIX. The Ukrainians are appearing everywhere, some of them in search of better land than that on which they first settled; and some of them, the children of the early settlers, in search of farms of their own.

TABLE XIX—RACIAL ORIGINS IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES, 1921 AND 1931

	Manitoba		Saskatchewan		Alberta	
	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931
British races	350,922	368,010	400,416	437,836	351,820	389,238
Other European races	241,939	313,309	338,586	463,302	214,257	320,648
Asiatic races	1,711	2,255	3,294	4,419	4,298	4,929
Indians	13,869	15,417	12,914	15,268	14,557	15,249
Negroes	491	465	396	410	1,048	924
Various	225	105	117	27	220	48
Unspecified	891	578	1,787	523	2,254	569

Even as early as 1921, the percentage of non-Anglo-Saxons (mostly Ukrainians) in the prairie provinces closely approximated that of the Anglo-Saxons, and this tendency had been carried still further in 1931. What is more, in the early days, block settlement prevailed, and thus the persons of a given race, naturally prolific, were largely segregated in certain areas where they reclaimed the wilderness and reproduced their children in abundance. Now that the children have grown to man's estate, they want land for themselves and they are purchasing it in the areas formerly settled exclusively by Anglo-Saxons. As the vanguard enters to take possession of the rural municipality, the remaining settlers bethink themselves of their eventual exodus, and soon the old church musters but a corporal's guard. In many municipalities, this extrusion of the Anglo-Saxons is practically completed, nor have any of the Protestant churches discovered as yet, in spite of hospitals, schools, city settlements, foreign-language papers and special missionaries, satisfactory ways and means of securing the loyalty of any considerable number of these people.

The Church's Greatest Problem

Thus the rural problem in Canada is very far from being solved, despite the fact that, generally speaking, almost every Canadian has a United Church minister located within reach of him. Until the United Church moves forward towards a consolidated church and creates a real program for the rural church adapted to Canadian needs, she has barely touched the periphery of her greatest problem. The church realizes, however, that in this matter her policy must be to make haste slowly; the provincial governments have found this out in their promotion of the consolidated school idea, and the church would discover it quickly enough if she urged prematurely the concept of the consolidated church. Her hopes will only be realizable as the highways are improved to the point where a severe winter will make little difference. Even so, however, the greatest enemy to progress is the conservatism of rural psychology. It is, for example, wholly natural that the people should cling to their many "God's Acres"—

> "Beneath those rugged elms, that yew-tree's shade
> Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap,
> Each in his narrow cell, forever laid,
> The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep."

Any effort to close the church, under the shadow of whose simple spire the precious dead rest in peace, will be obstinately resisted, even by those who have moved far away from the community in question. Perhaps, however, such churches might be preserved as funeral chapels, with services held annually and invitations sent to absent ones to attend or to mark their continued interest with an offering. By some such plan as this the blow might be softened.

The United Church has already made some reduction in the number of preaching points, and it has effected not a few consolidations of small churches formerly competitive. Its main concern, however, to date has been the readjustment of fields in the interests of economy and of giving the average minister the most compact parish possible. Because the United Church is so strong in the rural areas, its congregations being found everywhere, it has an opportunity, such as no other church in the Dominion possesses, to show what can be done. In atempting to solve the rural problem, it may wisely acquaint itself more with rural sociology and learn how to deal with the idiosyncrasies of rural psychology. Above all, it will do well to demonstrate in a few carefully selected localities what a really modern rural church can achieve.[30] When it has done so, other communities may take the hint and go and do likewise. But this means no small initial investment, and during these days of depression the major policy of all the churches is simply to hold on. Here is the outstanding opportunity for Canadian men of wealth to use some of their money in a great experiment. It should be eminently worth while on purely utilitarian grounds, for the prosperity of Canada is, and will continue to be for many years, fundamentally dependent upon the happiness and vision of her agriculturists.

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[30] Attention should be directed to a number of institutes being conducted for ministers of rural churches under the auspices of the United Church. These should be most helpful not only as a source of inspiration to ministers, but also as a means of creating a greater appreciation of their real opportunities.

CHAPTER XII

Division of Property and Legal Adjustments

Provision had been made in all the various acts secured, whether from provincial legislatures or Dominion parliament, for the protection of the property rights of the minority. As there was no Methodist minority and as the few nonconcurring Congregational churches asked for no equity in the denominational funds, only Presbyterian property was affected. The division of property was entrusted to commissions, the membership of which had been provided for in the respective acts. The Dominion Commission was charged with the distribution of property held by the denomination as a whole; the provincial commissions, with adjustments in the property held by local congregations. Naturally it was simpler to effect a distribution of denominational property than of local property, which was for the most part indivisible; but even in the case of denominational property, the situation was complicated enough, especially as clauses had been incorporated in the Ontario and Quebec acts, which gave two of the leading theological institutions—Knox College, Toronto, and the Presbyterian College, Montreal—to the non-concurrents. The latter in this way obtained so large a share of the theological colleges that they had of necessity to accept less of something else.

The decision of the Dominion Commission on Church Property became effective April 1, 1927. Between June 10, 1925, and April 1, 1927, therefore, all the property of the former Presbyterian Church in Canada, except the local property of the churches voting non-concurrence, was administered by the United Church. Thus The United Church of Canada was called upon in the interim to pay the expenses of certain home and foreign missionary interests, which finally passed into the hands of the non-concurring churches, and the pensions to all superannuated ministers, both those who had entered the United Church and those who had preferred to join with the non-concurrents.[1] The Commission decided, however, that when the property adjustments were made the non-concurring churches should reimburse the United Church for all expenditures made on their behalf.

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[1] Ministers who did not wish to enter the United Church were required to file a formal statement of their intention not to enter. Widows also who were annuitants on the widows' and orphans' fund were required to make a similar statement.

General Denominational Funds

To effect the proposed distribution of denominational funds, it became necessary to compile a very complete inventory of all the property held by the board of trustees of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and its allied trustee boards, and to make a fair evaluation of each item. This was done, and the total assets of the denomination at large, as distinguished from the assets of local congregations, were estimated at $10,500,000. In the end approximately 31 per cent. of this property was awarded to the non-concurring churches and 69 per cent. to the United Church. It is not easy to discover any way, or any combination of ways, in which an absolutely fair division of such properties could have been made. The division might have been calculated on the basis of the ratio which any one of the five following items bore to the total of the corresponding item for the former Presbyterian Church in Canada:

1. The number of congregations voting non-concurrence.
2. The value of the local property of congregations voting non-concurrence.
3. The benevolent givings of congregations voting non-concurrence.
4. The number of members voting non-concurrence.
5. The total membership of the churches which voted non-concurrence.

It is obvious that the first proposition listed above was impracticable. Only 784 out of 4,512 congregations had voted non-concurrence (or 17.6 per cent.), but, as was pointed out in chapter x, 534 of these were parts of former self-sustaining fields and only 250 were parts of aid-receiving fields, while of the 3,728 congregations that entered the Union only 1,412 were parts of self-sustaining fields and 2,316 had been aid-receiving. One could not very well assert the equality of such congregations in their claims to denominational property before a legal tribunal.

Nor are figures extant giving accurately the evaluation of the property held by local congregations in 1925. In 1921, estimates of the value of local church property were included in the statistical returns published by the Presbyterian Church in Canada, but these were obviously incomplete and of dubious exactitude, one presbytery at least failing to make any returns whatever. The total reported, however, in the 1921 *Year Book* came to $32,017,139 on which there was reported an aggregate debt of $4,075,461. An examination of these figures reveals that the churches reporting and voting non-concurrence in 1925 held local property valued at $11,560,165 with an aggregate debt of $1,144,676. It does not appear that these figures were used in connection with the ultimate division of the denominational property. They seem to indicate, however, that the net assets in local church property held by the non-concurring churches came to approximately 37.2 per cent. of the whole.

It was also obviously quite impossible to estimate the respective amounts donated throughout the years by living donors, unionist and non-concurrent respectively, and still more impossible to determine how donors who were dead and gone might have cared to have their gifts assigned.

Considerable importance, however, was obviously given to the actual results of the voting. As was pointed out in chapter x, the membership of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, as reported in the 1924 *Year Book*, was 374,951.[2] The total vote recorded against Union came to approximately 114,298, or 30.5 per cent. of the total membership. This, of course, includes those voting against Union in churches which by a majority decided to enter the United Church. The total membership of the churches voting non-concurrence, before they were either depleted by the unionist minorities that went out from them or re-inforced by the non-concurrent minorities that joined them, was 143,870, or 38.3 per cent. of the total membership. As 31 per cent. of the denominational property was given to the non-concurrents, one would seem justified in concluding that this percentage was determined on the basis of the percentage of the total membership of the church which had definitely expressed itself as opposed to Union.[3]

ALLOCATION OF SPECIAL FUNDS

There were certain funds, however, ear-marked for specific purposes, which lent themselves to more definite principles of distribution and which could not, properly speaking, be divided by any such arbitrary percentages, notably, the pension funds of the church. The equities in these funds were in the last analysis held, not by the congregations, but by the ministers, and it was possible to determine, on actuarial grounds, the equity of those ministers of the former Presbyterian Church that had entered the Union and of those that had not. Since the proportion of ministers that entered Union was much greater than the proportion of fields, it is not surprising that of the total assets of the pension funds, the non-concurring Presbyterian churches received only 22.04 per cent., while the United Church received 77.96 per cent.

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[2] It is obvious that there was also an unreported membership of at least 10,000 which should be added to this total of 374,951.

[3] A member of the Presbyterian coöperating committee enters strong objection "to the plan adopted here by the director of the study of striking an average in regard to the distribution of the various funds and assets of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. . . . These different divisions cannot be added together and an average struck." Unfortunately, there is no clue in the report of the Dominion Commission as to the criteria which they used in reaching their decision. Only the decisions are given. The executive officers of the United Church, however, issued a statement in *The New Outlook* at the time of the announcement, indicating that 31 per cent. of the assets had been awarded to the non-concurrents, adding: "It corresponds generally with the proportion of congregations—and members of the Presbyterian Church in Canada—which did not see fit to enter the union."

Home Missions

A very considerable proportion of the funds of the church and manse board consisted of loans to various congregations made in connection with the erection of churches and manses. If a local church against whose property a lien was held by the church and manse board voted non-concurrence, the value of the lien was transferred automatically to the non-concurring congregations; if, on the other hand, the church entered the Union, the value of the lien was transferred to the United Church. There were, however, a few other properties, mostly sites purchased with a view to some future building enterprise, which were ordered to be sold as soon as practicable and the proceeds divided. There was also a considerable amount of property invested in certain important institutions operated by the home-mission board—school-homes, hospitals, settlement-houses, Indian missions—some of them controlled entirely by the denomination and others held by the denomination in relation to some local congregation. Here the division seems to have been made largely on a basis of usability, the non-concurring congregations indicating which they particularly desired to retain and felt able to administer and the United Church taking the rest. In the final adjustment 76.7 per cent. of all property operated under home missionary auspices, the aggregate value of which was $2,814,599, passed into the hands of the United Church, 23.3 per cent. going to the non-concurring congregations.

Foreign Missions

The allocation of foreign-mission properties was somewhat complicated by the fact that nearly all the missionaries had expressed themselves in favor of Church Union. The total value of the resources of the board of foreign missions was approximately $1,970,000. The representatives of the United Church insisted that any division of foreign mission fields should be based on a policy which would cause no injury to either work or workers and which would require no missionary to remain at his post against his personal convictions. Thus it became necessary, in effecting the readjustments, to secure the consent of a few unionist missionaries (e.g. in Formosa, etc.) to remain at their posts under the auspices of the non-concurring congregations, and also to arrange for the transfer of certain non-concurring missionaries either to other fields or to churches in Canada.

In India, the directors of the Presbyterian work in Gwalior and Southern Bhil had expressed a preference for non-concurrence and these fields were consequently yielded by the United Church, which retained, however, the rest of the work in India. The net result here was the establishment of certain independent and somewhat isolated presbyteries.

In China the division was made at the height of the serious national outbreaks which began in 1925. The Presbyterians had two fields, one in Honan, North China, the other in Kwangtung, South China. Both of these fields went wholly into the United Church. Four women withdrew from the South China field and two men from the North China field. One of the latter returned to Canada and is now minister of a non-concurrent church in British Columbia. The other has remained in China and has developed a new field in Manchuria under the auspices of the non-concurring congregations. One of the women missionaries from South China returned for a time to Canada, and worked among the Chinese there, but later returned to the field as a representative of the continuing Presbyterian Church, working, however, under the new Church of Christ in South China. In this connection it should be mentioned parenthetically that most of the Chinese in British Columbia have come from Kwangtung and that the non-concurring congregations which were awarded certain Chinese missions in British Columbia are handicapped to some extent by the lack of a vital nexus with a field in that part of China.

In Japan proper the Canadian Presbyterian had no work, but they had developed extremely important fields in North Formosa and in Korea. The Korean work was given to the United Church, six of the missionaries —three men and three women—withdrawing by reason of their non-concurrence. Two of these men returned to Canada; the third, together with the three women, has attempted a new work in Japan proper among Koreans located there under the auspices of the continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada. Formosa was a field made famous in the religious annals of Canada by the work of the Rev. George L. Mackay, who opened this mission in 1871 and who died in 1901. Only one missionary and his wife were opposed to the Union, namely Mr. and Mrs. George Mackay. Mr. Mackay was a son of the founder of the mission, a teacher but not an ordained man. The non-concurrents wished to secure this field largely because of its important place in the history of Canadian Presbyterianism, but owing to the unionist attitude of the missionaries, the United Church hesitated long to consent to its transfer. It did so in the end, however, the unionist missionaries remaining on the field "on loan." Some who were unhappy and did not wish to stay were transferred, one going to Korea where he had to master a new language, one to Japan and two transferring their allegiance to the Scottish Presbyterian work in South Formosa. One unionist, a skilled surgeon, still remains on this field, on account of his peculiar interest in the work among the lepers.

There were also two other comparatively small fields in British Guiana and Trinidad, respectively. The work in British Guiana was given to the non-concurrents and that in Trinidad to the United Church. In both these British possessions considerable work is done among the coolies who were brought there from India. The division itself would seem to be somewhat arbitrary, since the two fields are comparatively close together—even closer with the emergence of air-communication—and could be well supervised as a single unit. One of the missionaries in British Guiana, now serving under the non-concurring churches, is a former Methodist who had been originally sent out under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. This serves to indicate the rather arbitrary nature of the distribution of foreign missionary property.

On the whole, the United Church received 75 per cent. of the foreign mission properties, and the non-concurring congregations received 25 per cent.

Theological Colleges

The disposition of the theological colleges was settled in a manner most unfortunate from the point of view either of the United Church or of the non-concurrent congregations. Nevertheless the fault was not that of the Dominion Property Commission but of the legislature of Ontario, which had specified that the property of Knox College should be given ultimately to the non-concurrent churches, and of the legislature of Quebec, which, following the example of Protestant Ontario, had made a similar provision with respect to the Presbyterian College of Montreal. Knox College was easily the outstanding theological institution in Canada. It had a magnificant building, a large staff and student body and the best theological library of any Protestant church in the country. The Ontario legislation had provided for the joint use of the building during the period of readjustment, and it also provided for the continued and perpetual interest of both churches in the library. It had also given the Principal's house to the United Church, but the question of the charter and endowments was not a matter for adjustment by provincial legislation, and together with those of the Presbyterian College in Montreal, could only be disposed of by the Dominion Property Commission. This Commission gave to the Presbyterian Church the charter of Knox and a share of the endowments of both colleges, amounting in all to $555,000, or 50 per cent. of the total value of the eight theological institutions and their endowments. The net result of this decision was to give the Presbyterian Church in Canada a larger capital investment in theological colleges than it could adequately use. On the other hand, most of the student body at Knox and all the members of the staff went into the United Church, which was thus forced to raise an additional $800,000 for a new building to house the joint staffs and student bodies of the former Knox and the theological department of Victoria College.

In taking so large a share of the college property the non-concurring congregations were not able to press their claims so fully in respect to the other funds, and thus certain miscellaneous funds, aggregating $342,749, including the vested interests in all Presbyterian publications, passed into the hands of the United Church intact. The treasurer of the United Church was ordered, however, to pay to the trustees of the non-concurring congregations "22.04 per cent. of the royalties arising from *The Book of Praise* of the Presbyterian Church in Canada after the 10th day of June, 1925." When, later, the United Church had published its own hymnal (1931) it voluntarily gave the non-concurring churches all its rights in *The Book of Praise.*

Legacies

Further provision had to be made for a distribution of all legacies for the pension funds which were vested in the Presbyterian Church of Canada as at June 10, 1925, and which had been paid or were to be paid after that date. These were to be divided in the proportion of 78 per cent. to the United Church and 22 per cent. to the Presbyterian Church. Legacies for funds other than the pension funds were to be divided in the proportion of 64 per cent. and 36 per cent., except in the case of legacies that had been specifically designated for a particular institution or mission, in which case they were assigned to the church with which such institution or mission had been affiliated. These legacies were adjusted from time to time in accordance with the principles set forth, but it is impossible to include them in the summary in Table XX.

Several other matters were dealt with by the Dominion Commission, among them, the rights of pupils connected with the United Church and pupils connected with the non-concurring congregations to admission to certain specified school homes, some of which had been awarded to the non-concurring congregations and others to the United Church. In the case of unpaid subscriptions to certain specified funds, notably "The Forward Movement Peace Thank Offering," it was agreed that "all claims in respect of such subscriptions or moneys received therefrom shall be deemed to be satisfied as between the United Church and the non-concurring congregations," but nothing might prevent either church from "seeking to collect or collecting from any of their or its respective members or

TABLE XX—DIVISION OF ASSETS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA
(Excluding legacies payable after June 10, 1925)

	Valuation as at June 10, 1925	
	Total Available for Distribution	Awarded to Non-concurring Congregations
Pensions	$2,116,603	$463,642
Home Missions	2,814,599	654,075
Foreign Missions	1,971,519	494,254
Colleges	3,521,265*	1,650,000
Miscellaneous	342,749	....
Total	$10,766,735	$3,261,971
Less Deficit on Common Budget	406,632	....

* This figure was the estimated assets of all the colleges prior to Union; the Commission considered the amount at substantially $3,300,000, awarding one-half of this amount to the non-concurring congregations.

adherents or the estates of their or its respective members or adherents, any unpaid subscription to the said fund."[4]

Still more significant, as an evidence of the variety of problems calling for adjustment under these circumstances, was the decision relative to the disposition of archives, which was covered only in a somewhat vague way as follows:

> "All records, papers and other documents of any Synod, Presbytery, General Assembly or any church court or association or society or college in communion with or in connection with The Presbyterian Church in Canada shall, as the case may be, be open to inspection by any authorized officer of The United Church or of the non-concurring congregations, or of any congregation, association, society or college in connection therewith, who may make copies of such records, papers or other documents."

The more exact disposition of two specified types of archives was ordered. Unfortunately, however, there has been no adequate provision for the assembling of all the archives of the former Presbyterian Church in Canada and no one seems to know where the minutes of many presbyteries and synods may be located. It would seem that the officials in whose keeping they were in 1925 often retained possession, especially as there is no direct "heir" to any given presbytery. There is also a tendency among denominational officials not to distinguish clearly between their private and their official correspondence, and on retiring from office to dispose of certain documents which alone can interpret the more formal decisions of the church. The director of this study has found himself seriously handicapped in his effort to secure accurate information by the apparent disappearance of official material relative to the Presbyterian Church in Canada, caused either by the lack of provision for a central repository by the Dominion Commission or by the carelessness of former minor officials.

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[4] Note the interesting use of the words *"their"* and *"its."*

In this way the Commission, which was presided over by one of the Justices of Canada, serving without honorarium, and which consisted of three representatives of the United Church, three of the non-concurrent congregations and three neutrals, effected the most satisfactory adjustment of a situation which it was almost impossible to adjust on the basis of any fixed principles. The question of future legacies that might be left to the Presbyterian Church in Canada could only be settled as specific instances arose. Legally it was clear that The United Church of Canada was a successor of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; but what if someone, a non-concurrent, failed to change the wording of his will before he died? A number of instances requiring adjustment have thus arisen. Most of these, however, have affected legacies left to local congregations.

Division of Local Church Property

It was more difficult to effect a distribution of property owned by a local congregation, and attempts to do so only accentuated the bitterness since the situation struck closer home to the rank and file of the membership. It was obviously not practicable to divide between the majority and minority groups a church building, small and inadequate enough even when preserved intact. In certain instances a manse might not have been needed by the United Church owing to the readjustments in the field which had taken place either prior to or immediately after Union; and in some instances the local church had certain endowment funds and there were occasional allocations of such endowments in whole or in part to the minority while the majority was left in peaceful possession of the building.

In other communities the Presbyterian church voted into the Union but there was already a Methodist or Congregational church in the community which had become part of the United Church. This meant two or more United churches with separate congregations and possibly a non-concurring minority without any edifice in which to worship. The non-concurrents in such situations took the ground that those who had voted for Union ought to accept the consequences and effect a local consolidation of congregations which would thus leave one church building for the use of those who did not wish Union. The unionists claimed that, by the terms of the "Basis" no local congregation could be forced against its will to consolidate with any other; further that one of the purposes in voting into Union was to effect, from the ultimate fusion of their resources, a greater strength and economy, and if a local majority were compelled to sacrifice part or all of its property and then be compelled to pay for the enlargement of another church building as they were forced to consolidate, the fundamental objectives of the church-union movement would be to that degree thwarted. Apart from the intensity of the arguments bitter personal feeling developed in the course of the controversy and complicated the adjudications of all local problems. There are repeated condemnations, in the findings of the commissions, of ugly and unyielding attitudes on the part of both majority and minority groups in specific communities.

An extreme and unusual situation in Beaverton, Ontario (population 933), serves to indicate the practical difficulties encountered in a division of local church property between such uncompromising parties. A few years before Union there had been in this village a small Methodist church and two Presbyterian churches—St. Andrew's, originally connected with the Church of Scotland, and Knox, originally connected with the Free Church. A short distance outside the village was an old cemetery, and in the middle of it stood a third edifice, the old Stone Church, with box pews, a high pulpit and *no* organ, the first Presbyterian church to be erected in the community and one of the historic landmarks of the countryside, but long fallen into disuse.

The two Presbyterian churches decided to consolidate, the building of Knox being used for Sunday-school purposes. Just before Union the Methodist church joined the consolidation under the coöperative scheme. The Methodist church property was sold and the proceeds of the sale were held by the Methodist Church, Canada, in trust for the local congregation, pending their final disposition after the consummation of Union. In 1925 the church, thus consolidated, voted by a signed ballot into the Union by 286 to 137 out of a total membership of 582. The Presbyterian vote in favor of Union was 182 and the Methodist vote 104. The non-concurrents objected that the Methodists should not have participated in the voting and appealed to the Ontario Property Commission both for a decision concerning the legality of the vote and also for relief through the award of one of the two Presbyterian edifices. The Commission decided that the participation of the Methodists in the voting, while improper, could not have materially affected the results of the vote; further, it concluded that the non-concurrents had not proved that the United Church in Beaverton did not need both the edifices. Consequently they gave no relief.

Meanwhile some political friends of the local non-concurrents managed to secure from the legislature of Ontario a special act giving the old Stone Church and part of the cemetery to the non-concurrents, who used the church pending the building of a new one of their own. The act further required a division of certain assets connected with Knox Church, since the United Church had decided to sell Knox to a contractor, who demolished it and used the building material salvaged in constructing a number of houses. When it became impossible to secure any local agreement in such distribution, these assets, by the provision of the act, were divided by the judge of Ontario County in a special award as follows:

1. "That the said organ fund, consisting of said sum of $1,142.66 of such amount as was on hand April 5, 1927, the date of the passing of the said Act, shall be divided between the said congregations with interest at 3% per annum forthwith equally, and shall be paid to the proper officer of the said respective congregations.
2. "Cushions and Gowns: I award and decide that these are church furnishings or equipment and order that the same be equally divided between the said congregations.
3. "Bell: I decide and award that this is part of the church furnishings or equipment, but as it is incapable of physical division, if I have the power over the reference, I order it to be sold and the proceeds equally divided between the said congregations.
4. "Taxes on Manse, Screen Doors on Manse: I make no award, decision or order as to these items, because I do not think they are within the scope of the reference.
5. "Electric Fans, Electric Fixtures and Furnaces: I award and decide that these are part of the church furnishings or equipment and order that the same be equally divided between the said congregations.
6. "I also award, decide and order that the costs of this arbitration be paid in equal portions by the said congregations."

Such a decision proves a *reductio ad absurdum* of the problems involved in any legislative measure to divide local church property.

The Provincial Commissions

While provision was made in all provincial acts for setting up commissions if desired, such provisions were made mandatory only in the acts passed by the Ontario and Quebec legislatures, and in later amendments to the acts passed by the Prince Edward Island and British Columbia legislatures.

Commissions were sent up by Orders-in-Council, in Alberta in 1926 and in Saskatchewan in 1929. No commissions whatever were formed in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick or Manitoba.

Alberta

The powers of the six provincial commissions appointed varied widely. Those in Alberta and Saskatchewan were almost purely advisory. The Alberta Commission considered in all thirteen applications, in certain of which the commission declined to make even a recommendation. In most instances the recommendations made were agreeable to both parties and accepted by them. In two cases the commission recommended the transfer of some Methodist property to non-concurring minorities and in two other cases a cash payment to the minority. In these four cases the majority refused to accept the recommendations of the commission. In 1928 the non-concurrents introduced a bill into the Alberta legislature which would have given the Board of Public Utilities commissioners the power, at the instance of any party concerned, to inquire into all matters affecting congregations of the non-concurrent or United churches located at Vermillion, Killam, High River, Edmonton South and Lethbridge, and to confirm and enforce in whole or in part, recommendations made to the respective congregations by the commission appointed two years earlier and not accepted by them. The Alberta legislature refused either to make the suggestions of the commission a basis for legislative enactment or to appoint a mandatory commission with power to enforce its findings. The bill was consequently withdrawn.

Saskatchewan

The government of Saskatchewan took at first no steps to appoint any commission. In 1927 an effort was made by the non-concurrents to secure an amendment of the provincial act and the appointment of a commission with mandatory powers. In making the application for such legislation, the petitioners appealed in the name of "The Synod of Saskatchewan of the Presbyterian Church in Canada," and to this use of the name, the United Church made strenuous objection. Instead of introducing the proposed amendment, the Private Bills Committee offered certain resolutions later approved by the House, sustaining the objection of the United Church to the petitioners' arrogation of the name of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, recommending that the House proceed no further with the proposed bill and urging that the question of the settlement of such difficulties be given consideration by the government. The government consequently appointed a commission in 1929 which had power to investigate only such cases as both churches agreed might be investigated. Failing agreement, the government itself might indicate the names and the places. This offer was accepted, but while eighteen situations were reviewed, no significant awards were made. St. Andrew's Church, in Moosejaw, voluntarily offered and paid its non-concurring minority the sum of $5,000 in lieu of any equity it might possibly have in the property of that particular church.

British Columbia

In British Columbia the amendment called for a commission of three members

> "to investigate the circumstances of votes taken under this Act, and to examine the congregational properties within the provinces of the uniting churches, and to report to the first session of the Legislature held after the passing of this Act what amendments and additions if any should be made to this Act in order to make the equitable adjustment of congregational properties concerned between The United Church and the non-concurrent congregations hereunder."

On the representation of the two churches, however, the Lieutenant-Governor agreed that a commission consisting of ten members, five from each of the churches concerned, should seek to work out a satisfactory adjustment of the situation which might then be reported by the government to the legislature as required by the amendment. The commission considered thirty applications for relief, in seventeen of which a private settlement was arranged between the parties during the negotiations; in the remaining thirteen cases the findings of the commission were adopted by the legislature and the act was amended a second time in 1927, in which these decisions disposing of various parcels of property were set forth. In most of these instances the property was transferred to the non-concurrents subject to any registered charges thereon, other specified indebtedness and certain payments to be made to the local congregations of the United Church (in one instance to the local United church minister). In one place the church and all the furniture in it, *except the piano,* were given to the non-concurring Presbyterians; in another case only the *radio equipment* was retained by the United Church.

Ontario

The powers of the commissions appointed in Ontario and Quebec were substantially identical, except that the Quebec legislation gave its commission no power to determine the validity of the vote. The Ontario Property Commission was empowered to deal with four types of situation:

> (1) Section 9, clause (f): "Where there are two or more congregations of the same parent church situate in the same community or locality, but not including a city having a population in excess of 50,000 according to the last Dominion census, and each of them has voted to enter the United Church or each of them has voted not to enter the United Church, as the case may be, and the Commission finds on an application being made to it as hereinafter provided that there is no other church building in the community or locality where the minority of such congregations might reasonably be expected to attend and that such minority is large enough to constitute a separate congregation, then the Commission may

determine and order that one of such church buildings shall belong to and be vested in trustees or otherwise set apart for the use and benefit of such minority as a congregation upon and subject to such terms and conditions as the Commission may deem proper and if there is any manse, burying-ground or glebe land used by or in connection with either or any of such congregations, the Commission may make such order with respect thereto as it may deem proper.

(2) Section 9, clause (g): "Where any property is held by or in trust for or to the use of two or more congregations of the same parent church for any common purpose and one or more of such congregations has voted to enter the United Church, and one or more not to enter the United Church, the Commission may apportion or otherwise deal with such property so as to render substantial justice having regard to all the equities and may make such order with respect thereto as it may deem proper."

(3) Section 9, clause (h): "Where complaint is made to the Commission that irregularities have occurred in the vote taken under the Act of Incorporation or under this Act, or in the declaration of the result of the vote, the Commission may inquire as to such irregularities and may declare the result of such vote in so far as it affects congregational property and such declaration shall be final and binding and shall not be open to question in any court."

(4) Section 10: "Where representations are made to the Commission by or on behalf of the minority members of any congregation that as a result of the vote they are left in a position of extreme hardship and a request is made of the Commission to use its good offices in an endeavor to remedy such hardship, the Commission may in an advisory capacity inquire into the matter and make such recommendations and suggest such adjustments and plans the adoption of which would in the opinion of the Commission provide a remedy for such hardship."

Applications had to be made within three months after June 10, 1925, and had to be disposed of by the commission before June 10, 1926. It was stated that pending the consideration of these applications, "no proceedings shall be taken in any court to direct, prohibit, or interfere with the consideration and determination by the commission of any such application."[5]

The commission held weekly sittings from September, 1925, until March, 1926, at twenty-six different centres and received 149 applications, 137 being made by non-concurrent minorities and 12 by unionist minorities. In twenty-five cases the applications were withdrawn. It soon became apparent that the powers of the Ontario Property Commission were more restricted than had been supposed. In the first group of cases with which they were empowered to deal, it was easier for the legislature to indicate that the commission should have, under certain specified circumstances, power to act in "communities" under 50,000 population, than for the commission to decide exactly what in a given rural area, constituted, for church-going purposes, a community. It is quite obvious that the determination of such a matter must be solved on sociological rather than on legal grounds, involving as it does not only questions of mileage and transportation facilities (both summer and winter), but also the conservatism characteristic of rural group psychology. It is extremely hazardous in these days to tell people where they should attend church. Further, there were only two cities or towns in which there were two Presbyterian churches, both of which voted into the Union (Owen Sound and Carleton Place), and two cities or towns in which there were two Presbyterian churches, both of which voted non-concurrence (Stratford and St. Mary's). In all four cases, the respective plaintiffs in the controversy were unable to prove that the defendants could get along very satisfactory without one of their buildings, and consequently the commission gave no relief.

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[5] Facts required from all applicants by the commission may be found in Appendix E.

The situations of the second type dealt with consisted almost exclusively of surplus manses which were owned more or less jointly by two or more congregations sharing a common minister. In certain cases the commission endeavored to determine from the original subscription lists the relative present equities of the two groups, although of course various other factors had to receive consideration. In all there were twenty-five cases in Ontario involving the disposition of manses.

The situations of the third type, dealing with the legality of the vote have already been considered in a general way in chapter x, and these brought forth a variety of arguments in regard to the proper or improper procedure in calling the meeting to consider the attitude of the local church in the matter of Union; in the balloting itself (the validity of a signed ballot being questioned on the dictionary definition of a ballot as a means used to secure secrecy); in the participation in the voting of Methodist members of churches that had been consolidated before Union under the coöperative plan; in the accuracy of the membership rolls on which the status of the voters had been determined. In nine cases the commission declared the vote invalid but recognized its powerlessness to order a second vote. Subsequently, on the strength of these decisions, the non-concurrents in seven of these cases secured directly from the legislature amendments to the act providing for such a second vote to be taken under the direction of a judge appointed by the Attorney-General.

The fourth type of cases offered the greatest difficulties of all, for when did a hardship become an "extreme hardship?" In formulating their judgments, some of the commissioners wrote little essays on "extreme hardship" that would have done credit to a college freshman. Thus we find:

"It seems fairly obvious . . . that the Legislature had not used the words in a sense which would enable the Commission to make any recommendations only in a case which is so hard that no harder could exist or be supposed, or the hardship of which cannot be exceeded. Even those of us who occasionally consult a dictionary commonly use the word 'extremely' in the sense of 'exceedingly,' and if the temperature in Toronto drops to 10 degrees below zero, most of us agree that it is extremely cold, even though the Meteorological Observatory remarks merely that it is very cold, and though we know that in some less fortunate place, such as White River, it may be colder. Similarly we speak of an extremely hard case, without meaning that it is the hardest one we can imagine."

There was little that the Commission could do here except to recommend the temporary joint use of the building, subject to the allocation of specified hours to a minority group for, perhaps, some nominal consideration. Even this solution, however, was dangerous, owing to the local bitterness, and even recommendations of this character, when made, were not always accepted.

The following is a summary of the disposition of all cases in Ontario:

Cases where the vote was declared invalid	9
Cases where an order was given	14
Cases involving manse property	25
Cases withdrawn	25
Cases in which no recommendation was given	31
Cases in which recommendation was given	45
	149

The report of the sub-committee of the non-concurring churches in connection with the work of the Ontario Church Property Commission voices its disappointment with the general findings of the commission which had entailed upon the church "heavy expenditures for legal fees, salary and expense of the commission, etc."[6] The complaint was not directed against the commission but against the legislation which had so restricted its powers and against the United Church which had ignored a number of the recommendations of the commission. The report concludes: "There remain many minority groups still in a position of extreme hardship for whom no relief has been obtained, and among these are to be found some outstanding instances of great injustice." The report of the committee on Law and Legislation to the United Church in the same year, however, says: "In approximately fifty of these cases, voluntary offers were made by the United Church congregations and approved by the commission as a means of remedying the hardship. Many of these offers, however, were not accepted by the minorities."

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[6] See *Acts and Proceedings*, 1926, pp. 57–58.

It should be pointed out that the Ontario act gave the commission in its efforts to provide equities no power to deliver property held by Methodist or Congregational congregations to the non-concurring minorities of Presbyterian churches. The non-concurring congregations had sought to have the act amended by bestowing such powers on the commission, but a rumble of opposition throughout the province prevented any such enactment in Ontario, although in Prince Edward Island such powers were entrusted to and used by the commission. Perhaps the most interesting situation resulting from the impotence of the Ontario Commission in this respect may be observed in the Embro case.

Embro is a small village in Oxford County of 460 population. It is the centre of Zorra township, over a hundred years ago settled by Presbyterian Highlanders and a few Methodists. This community has sent out scores of leaders in church and state, although its population records a shrinkage in every census. The centre of the village was the "auld kirk" and the Methodist church was always small, although it represented the consolidation in 1882 of two churches—one Wesleyan and the other Methodist Episcopal. Following some evangelistic meetings in 1870, a group broke away from the old kirk. Objections had been taken by certain elders to some doctrines of the evangelists and those who approved the evangelists went out and formed what later became "Ebenezer Congregational Church." The first Congregational building was destroyed by fire in 1904, and a new church dedicated in the following year.

In 1925 there were, therefore, in Embro, three churches, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational. The Presbyterian church voted into the Union 192 to 90. Embro was, therefore, one of the few villages in the country in which there were only three churches, representing all three of the negotiating denominations, and all of them entering the Union. It had been generally believed that Knox Church would vote out, and when the Congregationalists and the Methodists had, in 1921, committed themselves to Union, there was a general understanding in the community that, if Knox did vote out, the Methodist and Congregational churches would be consolidated and the Congregational building used. Knox, however, voted into the Union, and a non-concurring minority, which included some of the well-to-do people in the community, was formed. The Methodists had no resident minister, and the Presbyterian minister made a personal canvass of every Methodist family, urging a consolidation of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, with the result that before the actual consummation of Union, on June 10, the Methodists sold their property to the village of Embro for a continuation school and went over to the Knox United Church almost in a body. Sixty-one members of Knox left to form the non-concurring Presbyterian church and sixty-two had joined Knox from the Methodist church. One Methodist family went over to the Congregational church.

The non-concurring Presbyterian minority then made an appeal to the Ontario Property Commission, alleging "extreme hardship" and requesting either that Knox Church or a church at Brooksdale, a few miles away, be given them, although there was in the back of their minds an apparent intention of bringing pressure through the commission to secure the Ebenezer Congregational Church on the ground that the United Church did not need two churches in Embro. The commission decided that they could not give the minority either of the two churches desired, but since the Methodist church had been sold and its membership merged with Knox Church, the situation had been radically changed from that before the vote, and while admitting their lack of authority, they recommended that the Congregational church be given to the non-concurrents by free consent. This the Congregationalists were unwilling to do, and consequently the commission was powerless. Then Knox sought to bring pressure on the Ebenezer congregation, whose strength had waned with the passing of the years, to form an additional consolidation with it.

Ebenezer Church thus felt itself under two pressures—one exerted by the non-concurrents who desired its building, and another by the sister United church which wished to incorporate the membership and property of Ebenezer in itself. Ebenezer quietly resisted both pressures and continues as a second United church in the village. A few of its members seem to believe that the non-concurrents cannot last indefinitely in spite of some small growth, and that in time their work must disintegrate.[7] Where, then, will the membership go? Probably not back to Knox, since the "disruption" was accompanied by bitterness. There is, however, no ill-feeling on the part of the non-concurrents towards Ebenezer, and if Ebenezer just goes quietly along its own way, minding its own business, some of the non-concurrents may perhaps eventually join there, thus forming a second strong United church in the village. On the other hand, if the non-concurrents erect another building in the village, probably Knox and Ebenezer will arrange a consolidation. This situation reveals quite clearly some of the difficulties encountered by the commission, and throws light on the psychology of competitive religious groups which expresses itself at times in strange ways.

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[7] Knox extended an invitation to the non-concurrents in 1928 to come back. The invitation was declined.

Quebec

The powers of the commission in Quebec were quite similar to those given to the commission under the Ontario act, except it had no power to investigate alleged irregularities in the voting or to declare the result of such votes. Forty-three applications for adjustment were filed, thirty-two of them by non-concurring minorities and eleven by unionist minorities. The commissioners unanimously agreed that where no separate funds or endowments were available, it was against the spirit of the legislation to order the majority to pay the minority any sum of money for what might be claimed to be the minority's equity, but where such endowments did exist (e.g. Calvin-Westminster in Montreal), such a transfer of funds was recommended.[8] In Westmount, one of the cities that go to constitute Greater Montreal, and geographically if not politically, an integral part of Canada's largest city, the commission refused to give the non-concurrent minority of the Melville Church the relief desired, since in this city at least one Presbyterian congregation, viz., Stanley Church, had voted non-concurrence. "In most of the remaining cases, the commission recommended the acceptance of offers voluntarily made by the United Church congregations concerned, many of which included offers to use the church building at certain hours for stated terms, as well as offers for sale or rent."[9] An application made by the non-concurrents to the Quebec legislature for legislation which would make certain recommendations of the commission mandatory was not encouraged and was subsequently withdrawn.

Prince Edward Island

It was, however, in Prince Edward Island that the powers of the commission were largest. On March 31, 1926, during a great snow storm, in the last moments of the session of the legislature and without the usual notice, an amendment was passed to the United Church of Canada Act appointing a special commission of three persons which should have "all the powers which may be conferred on a Commission under the provision of the 'Public Inquiries Act'" more particularly specified in Section 29, sub-sections f, g and h, as follows:

> "(f) Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, where in any community, the entry into Union or non-entry into Union of any congregations has left a minority group, whether concurring or non-concurring, without a reasonably convenient church or meeting-house in which to worship, and where by a proper *division* or allocation of *church properties or property in such locality* or

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[8] The Calvin-Westminster minority later shared the use of an Adventist church, the Adventists worshipping on Saturdays and the non-concurrent Presbyterians on Sundays.

[9] From report of the committee on Law and Legislation to the United Church, *Year Book*, 1927, p. 45.

community *such minority can be provided with an existing church,* meeting-house and other church property *without depriving the majority* of a reasonably convenient church or meeting-house in which to worship and other church property, or interfering with their use thereof; then and in every such case the Commission may determine and order how and in what manner such church properties or property shall be allocated so as to render substantial justice, having regard to all the equities."

"(g) Where any property is held by or in trust for or to the use of two or more congregations out of the same parent church for any common purpose and one or more such congregations entered the United Church, and one or more have voted not to enter the United Church, the Commission may apportion or otherwise deal with the use of such property so as to render substantial justice, having regard to all the equities and may make such order with respect thereto as it may deem proper."

"(h) The Commission may make such order as may seem advisable to vest or allocate any cemetery property held in connection with any church or congregation, uniting or non-uniting, to the intent that the right or proper use and access thereto by the minority severing from any such church or congregation may be preserved."

Under other sections of the amendment, an opportunity of effecting amicable adjustments prior to the consideration of the Commission of Three was afforded by the creation of a Commission of Ten, five representing the United Church and five representing the Presbyterian Church; in case, however, the Commission of Ten was unable to reach any agreement before July, 1926, the cases should then go to the Commission of Three before July 15, 1926, and be determined before August 1, 1926. The Commission of Three, after making its own finding, declaration or award, should then submit the same for the consideration of the Court of Appeal in Equity of the province, which in its turn had the power to confirm, vary or alter said finding, declaration or award as might seem just and equitable. The adjustment in Prince Edward Island, therefore, was to be effected, first if possible by a Commission of Ten without power; second, by a Commission of Three with power to reach definite findings; third, by the Court of Appeal in Equity with final authority to confirm or alter the findings of the Commission of Three.

The Commission of Ten on Amicable Adjustments was unable to effect anything. In general the Presbyterian churches in Prince Edward Island were more pretentious than the Methodist churches, and hence the non-concurring minorities put up a strenuous and often successful fight to retain control of the property of even those congregations that had voted into Union. In some districts there were two or three Presbyterian churches, all of which voted non-concurrence, and here the unionist minorities, widely-scattered, were left without a convenient place to worship.

In one such instance, at Long River, the United church, in asking for the use of a church for a consolidated unionist minority from several congregations, offered $500 in compensation. This being refused, they offered $1,000, which also was refused. They then asked for the right of worship at specified hours, the non-concurring Presbyterians to settle the terms. This, too, was refused. Again there were at least nine instances in which a Presbyterian church had voted into the Union where the building was large enough to accommodate not only the unionist majorities but also the members of the neighboring Methodist churches. In these instances the unionist members of the Commission of Ten voluntarily offered Methodist property to the non-concurrents, but in every case it was refused.

Any amicable adjustment of the situation in Prince Edward Island, therefore, proved impossible, and all the cases went up to the Commission of Three under the presidency of an Anglican.

The commission received in all twenty-seven applications for adjustment. Two were withdrawn by the applicants and did not come on for hearing. One was presented, but as it was not reinforced with the necessary evidence the commission refused to consider it. A fourth application concerned the validity of the vote which had been taken in Lot 14,[10] where the aftermath of Church Union had led to the greatest bitterness, locks being put on the church by one side and torn off by the other. In this case, the commission decided that it had no jurisdiction under the amendment to go into the question of the validity of the vote. It did, however, consider the remaining twenty-three applications. Three unusual questions of principle had to be decided at the outset by the commissioners. These were:

1. The accessibility of minority members of the congregation to cemeteries connected with churches involved in the negotiations and their share in the control of the same.
2. The power or the duty of the commission under the amendment to allocate the partial use of a church to one group subject to the ownership and dominant use of the property in other group.
3. The decision as to what church properties were brought under the control of the commission under the amendment for the purpose of division or allocation.

On the first point agreement was easily reached as follows:

"1. All present plot holders shall have the same rights of use and access as heretofore irrespective of the provisions of The United Church of Canada Act.

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[10] The word "lot" in Prince Edward Island is derived from the early distribution of the land in the Island among certain proprietors by lottery in 1767.

"2. Each member of the minority or majority congregations shall have equal rights as to purchase of and access to plots whether already purchased or to be purchased.

"3. In order that the minority, whether concurring or non-concurring, may have a voice in the management of a cemetery, a Committee of Management shall be appointed on which the minority in either case shall have representation.

"4. A separate account of all funds subscribed for, or collected for plots, or for the upkeep of a cemetery shall be kept, and any monies now on hand or hereafter collected or subscribed for the purpose, shall be used only for cemetery purposes.

"5. The Committee of Management shall prepare and submit to the respective Sessions of the congregations represented on it, an annual statement covering the Cemetery Accounts."

The Court of Appeal in Equity later approved this decision and added that "in regard to all the cemetery properties within the said statute but not covered by this order, the Court suggests legislation as the proper remedy."

In regard to the second point only the commissioner for the United Church urged the common use of a church or meeting-house for both groups as practically the only remedy for the difficult situations which confronted the commission. The chairman and the commissioner representing the non-concurrents, on the other hand, reached the conclusion that the wording of the statute precluded them from dividing the use of any church or meeting-house, and the corroborating decision of the Court of Appeal in Equity is of such significance that it deserves to be quoted in full:

"At first glance it looks like a solvent of the most difficult problems presented by these cases, but it does not stand examination well. Under it one party would hold the property and have the dominant right to its use, the other could only use it when the dominant group did not require it. There could be no hope of success unless both parties were agreed and kept agreeable.

"But in all cases brought before the Commission there was not one in which both parties were agreed to such a divided use, and only four in which it was applied for by any minority group—the majority in each case opposing.

"If in the congregations or religious groups concerned there is not such a spirit of justice and good-will as would lead them voluntarily to agree in all proper cases upon a divided use, then there are few things more certain than that to link them together by compulsion of law in the use of one church in which one would have a dominant and the other a servient use would provide a never-ending source of strife. It would at best be a dangerous experiment, and its failure would only increase the mischief which the Statute was intended to remedy."

It was, however, in the third case, that the greatest objection was taken by the commissioner of the United Church, who insisted that the commission had no power to hand Methodist property over to non-concurrents without the consent of the Methodist congregations themselves. The other two members of the commission thought differently, the chairman stating his position thus:

> "In my opinion it would be necessary in order to prohibit the allocation of former Methodist congregational property, to show that the Methodist congregations were strictly strangers to the promotion of the Act."
>
> "Clearly, the whole tenor of the statute deprives the Presbyterian and Methodist congregations going into the Union of any further control as such Presbyterian or Methodist congregations over their former property. In return they are given control as United Church congregations over the same and in some cases additional property."

On this interpretation the commission awarded four Methodist churches and two Methodist parsonages to the non-concurrent Presbyterians, who were also able to retain six of the Presbyterian churches (including two of the manses) which had voted into Union. In certain of the latter instances (e.g., Kensington), the United church had to enlarge the former Methodist building in order to accommodate its congregation. At Marshfield and Dunstaffnage, the United church had to abandon the small former Methodist church and build a new church entirely. At Murray Harbor, the Commission of Three awarded the former Methodist building to the non-concurrents, who refused it. Consequently the Court of Equity made no disposition of this property and it was later sold by the United church to the Baptists for $500. The Baptists fixed it up and the non-concurrents accepted the use of it from the Baptists, pending the building of a new church of their own costing about $3,000. At Mount Stewart, the commission found one of the Methodist churches which they had allocated to the non-concurrents in a bad state of repair and ordered it repaired before being transferred to the non-concurrents. At Alberton, the non-concurrents were awarded the Methodist church, but as they had already purchased a site and as the United Church congregation had in this instance asked for the choice of location as well as buildings, they were "privileged to require the former Methodist church to be removed from its site and placed . . . . upon the lot owned by the non-concurring Presbyterians," the expense of the removal to be borne by the United Church congregation. In another community where the United Church was occupying three churches, e.g., West Point, Milburn and Bethel, leaving no other church or church property for the minority, the commission ordered that the West Point Church be given to the non-concurring Presbyterians and that the members of the

United Church who now held that property be divided, part going to Milburn and part to Bethel. So arbitrary an order would seem to be an infringement of the fundamental principles of religious liberty.

It will thus be seen that the power of the commission in Prince Edward Island far exceeded those of any of the other provincial commissions. In no province in the Dominion did greater bitterness develop in the course of the whole church union controversy. The aggregate Presbyterian vote in Prince Edward Island out of a total membership of 6,438 had been 2,397 to 2,551.

While no commissions whatever were formed in the three provinces of Manitoba, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in each of these provinces community disputes were carried to the courts with more or less significant results.

Manitoba

In Manitoba, the Roland Presbyterian Church had voted into the Union 92 to 50. Two months later the congregation consolidated with the Zion Methodist congregation in that place. The non-concurrents took possession of the former Presbyterian church and manse and refused to give up possession in spite of the protest made by the trustees of the Roland United church, who thereupon instituted legal proceedings for their ejection. The defendants replied that they were rightly in possession and denied the validity of The United Church of Canada Acts as passed both by the Dominion and by the Province of Manitoba. When, however, they realized that the United Church intended to press its claim, they abandoned possession of the property and finally bought their old church from the United Church for $500. Apparently, the non-concurrent churches did not care to make this case the test of the validity of the acts.[11]

New Brunswick

In New Brunswick an action was brought by the non-concurring minority of the St. James' Presbyterian Church in Newcastle, which owned some considerable glebe property and held other endowments, and where the vote on Union, the validity of which was contested in the action, had been 87 to 25 out of a membership of 150. This action sought to set aside the vote on the grounds that pew-holders who, under the early act of incorporation were entitled to votes had not been allowed to do so; further that the vote had been taken by signed ballot; finally, that even if the vote were valid, it was necessary to have a second congregational vote to make the property of the congregation available for United Church purposes, and that, pending the taking of such vote, the property was still subject to the original trusts, that is for Presbyterian purposes.

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[11] As the control of the congregational property came under provincial jurisdiction this was not considered a test case for the validity of the Church Union Act, and the legal authorities of the continuing Presbyterian Church therefore declined to support the litigation.

The fundamental problem in this case arose out of the possible interpretation of Section 8 of The United Church of Canada Act (Dominion), the provisions of which had been incorporated into the Basis of Union essentially as a concession to such Congregational churches as were unwilling to forego any of their accustomed autonomy.[12] The section read:

> "8. Any real or personal property belonging to or held by or in trust for or to the use of any congregation, whether a congregation of the negotiating churches or a congregation received into The United Church after the coming into force of this Act, solely for its own benefit, and in which the denomination to which such congregation belongs has no right or interest, reversionary or otherwise, shall not be subject to the provisions of sections five and six hereof or to the control of The United Church, unless and until any such congregation at a meeting thereof regularly called for the purpose shall consent that such provisions shall apply to any such property or a specified part thereof."

The plaintiffs in the Newcastle case believed that such an exception might be taken in their case since various acts of incorporation, going back to 1824 and confirmed in 1875, when the Presbyterian Church in Canada had been formed, kept the control of the property of that specific church in the hands of the local congregation, through its board of trustees, who were to be selected only by "male communicants" and pew-holders. The case was also in a sense a test case since a number of other Presbyterian churches in the Dominion held their property under similar provisions.

When the case came before the Chancery Division of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, the Chief Justice, in his decision, disallowed the claim of the plaintiffs relative to the alleged illegality of the vote, but sustained them in their contention that a second vote of the congregation was necessary before the property could be turned over to the jurisdiction of the United Church, and that pending such a second vote, the property should be held under the original trust.

While this decision could not have materially changed the situation in Newcastle where a second vote might have been obtained as desired, it did affect a considerable number of other churches, where the status of the property might have been thus rendered uncertain, and consequently the United Church appealed the decision. The case was then heard before the Appeal Division of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, which, reversing the former judgment, held against the plaintiffs on all grounds. The Appeal Division pointed out that under special Board of Trustee Acts passed in connection with the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1900, that church had a reversionary right in all the property of the local churches connected with it, including that of the Newcastle congregation.

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[12] As a matter of fact, as has been repeatedly indicated, there were few Congregational churches in the Dominion in which the Congregational home missionary society, as a result of liens placed on church property after the raising of the Jubilee Fund 1903–1908, did not have a reversionary interest in the local property; and in certain provinces such reversionary rights had been secured by special acts of the legislature (e.g., Nova Scotia, 1893, Chapter 203, Victoria 56, page 357).

This did not satisfy the plaintiffs, who appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada, on the ground that such Board of Trustee Acts referred only to the lands and premises of a church which had ceased to exist, and not to endowments and personal property of considerable value such as were held by the church in Newcastle. The Supreme Court of Canada, however, sustained the findings of the Appeal Division of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, and thus, unless the case be carried to the Privy Council of London, Section 6 of The United Church of Canada Act is not applicable to such congregations as hold their property in any province where general acts of incorporation give the denomination with which they were originally connected a reversionary right in their property. The section would still seem, however, to be applicable to other situations, notably those of the Congregational churches for which it was originally devised.

Nova Scotia

Still more important was the case at Saltsprings, Nova Scotia. Saltsprings is a "point" in Pictou County, the county where non-concurrency in 1925, as in 1875, scored its most complete victories. There are perhaps in the adjacent countryside some two hundred families, and the first church to be organized here more than a hundred years ago was the Church of Scotland. In 1844, this little church was split by a secession of Free Churchmen, who built a second church on the hill, less than a mile from the original Church of Scotland in the valley. Long after the general union of 1875 these two local churches remained apart, but finally came together; the little Free Church building on the hill was then abandoned and its congregation came down and joined in the worship of the original church. In politics the descendants of the Church of Scotland settlers were nearly all Conservatives; the descendants of the founders of the Free Church were nearly all Liberals.

Then came the controversy over church union. The Free Church group was almost a unit against Union; the Church of Scotland group was divided. The Nova Scotia act provided a procedure which permitted a local congregation by vote not to concur in the Union, but it also contained a provision which was not included in the Dominion act, namely:

"(8) . . . Should such congregation decide in the manner aforesaid at any later time to enter the union and become part of the United Church, then this Act shall apply to the congregation and all the property thereof from the date of such decision."

Such a provision had been included in the original bill as presented to the Dominion Parliament, but had been withdrawn; the Nova Scotia act, however, had been passed before the Dominion act, and the inclusion of the provision for a second vote seems to have met with no opposition, the unionists feeling that in the end the non-concurrent congregations would probably join the United Church, and the non-concurrents finding this provision convenient, for it enabled them to say to hesitating churches; "if your church votes into the Union, you cannot later vote out; but if you vote out now, and later feel you have made a mistake, you can revise your decision and enter the United Church." The provision for a second vote was therefore a two-edged sword.

In Saltsprings, the congregation held a meeting December 22, 1924, and voted non-concurrence by 87 to 64. The minister, who was a unionist, thereupon resigned and the Presbytery of Pictou appointed, on May 5, 1925, as interim moderator, pending the selection of a new minister, the Rev. Robert Johnson of New Glasgow, himself a non-concurrent leader. A unionist minority was formed, consisting of a very considerable number of the people who had been identified for generations with the original Church of Scotland in the valley, the Free Church element being non-concurrent. When the members of the Church of Scotland group realized that a schism was confronting the church and that many of their former and most intimate associates were going out they decided to take advantage of the provisions for a second vote. The elders called for a second meeting, which was held July 24, 1925, at which the congregation by a vote of 100 to 0 decided to concur in the Union. The non-concurrents, who abstained from the voting, attacked the legality of this meeting on the ground that it had been called by the elders of the church without the authority of the interim moderator, and entered an action to dispossess the majority of the property they were then occupying. The United Church, in rebuttal, claimed that the vote was taken after June 10, 1925, on which date the former Presbytery of Pictou entered the United Church, and the authority of officials appointed by such presbytery, especially those who had not entered the United Church, ceased.

This action was brought before the Chief Justice and dismissed. An appeal was then taken to the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, *in banco,* which declared the meeting of July 27 null and void, the minister appointed by Pictou Presbytery to be still interim moderator on July 27, 1925, and that "the congregation was at all material times and is a non-concurring congregation." The unionists were, therefore, restrained from using the real or personal property of the church or from preventing the exercise of his functions by the interim moderator. The Supreme Court *in banco* also held that,

> "The congregation at a meeting regularly called and held may pursuant to the latter part of Section 8(a) of Chapter 122 of the Acts of the Province of Nova Scotia, 1924, enter the Union and become part of the United Church, and being further of the opinion that congregational meetings are to be called by the Session and that the Session is to be convened by the Moderator or another minister having authority from him."

Pending the calling of such a meeting and its determination, and pending "the final decision of the Supreme Court of Canada in the event of an appeal asserted to that Court, and the further order of the Court," enforcement of the declarations in favor of the plaintiffs as set forth, and also the order restraining the unionists from using the church property were suspended.

Meanwhile, the interim moderator had moved out of the province altogether, and was now resident in Ottawa. An appeal and cross-appeal were taken to the Supreme Court of Canada, which held, one Justice dissenting, that the meeting was not regularly called and that the property belonged to the non-concurring congregation. The Supreme Court of Canada, however, raised another and entirely new point, which had not been a major question at all up to this time. The Court declared that the provision of the Nova Scotia act for a second vote was *ultra vires,* and that a church once having voted non-concurrence was precluded from taking any such second vote, since no provision for such a vote was incorporated in the Dominion act, and, to use the words of the Chief Justice of Canada, "the power of non-concurrence duly exercised under that Act, having been invoked with affirmative consequences, is, in my opinion, exhausted, and cannot be reviewed by the congregation."

The Saltsprings church was only a small affair but the new question which emerged was of great importance, since it might have made it possible for the non-concurring churches in the future ultimately to attach themselves to any denomination except that represented by the United Church; the case was therefore appealed to the Privy Council.

The Privy Council delivered its judgment June 23, 1930, and affirmed the judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada with two variations, both of which dealt with the possible status of the Rev. Robert Johnston as interim moderator, on which their Lordships declared themselves unprepared to express an opinion. The main contention of their Lordships was that only the Dominion act could specify who were or were not the members of the newly-formed corporation, and that the provincial provision for a second vote was *ultra vires.* Their Lordships declared:

> "The constitution of the United Church was a matter solely for the Parliament of Canada, and it was for that Parliament to define the conditions of membership of the corporation which it set up. The Provincial Legislature could not competently alter the conditions of membership of the United Church and nowhere avowedly attempts to do so. Section 8(a) of the Provincial Act in providing certain consequences as regards property which are to follow decisions of congregations either not to concur in the Union or to enter the Union does not and could not properly empower congregations to take such decisions, affecting as they must necessarily do, the constitution of the United Church. If such decisions cannot be taken consistently with the constitution of the United Church as defined by the Parliament of Canada, then the consequences as regards property of such decisions cannot become operative. The authors of the Provincial Act of Nova Scotia, which was passed on the 9th May, 1924, may, for aught their Lordships know, have contemplated that the Dominion Statute, which was not assented to till the 19th July, 1924, would contain provisions for congregations deciding after the 10th June, 1925, not to concur in the Union or at a later time deciding to enter the Union and may have thought it right to legislate for the consequences on property of such decisions should they be authorized by the Dominion Legislature, which, however, did not prove to be the case. . . ."

Their Lordships, however, declared that their decisions were

> "not to be taken as holding that once a congregation has decided under Section 10 of the Dominion Act not to concur in the Union, it is forever after debarred from being received into the United Church. Far from it. The Basis of Union scheduled to and ratified by Section 26 of the Dominion Act under Head A dealing with 'Charges existing previous to the Union' expressly refers in paragraph 8 to 'congregations received subsequent to the Union into the United Church.' And section 8 deals with the property of 'a congregation received into the United Church after the coming in force of this Act.' No procedure, however, is prescribed in the Dominion Statute for the reception of a congregation into the United Church after the 10th of June, 1925, nor is it specified how an effective decision may be taken by a congregation with a view to its reception. As the Provincial Statute could not, in their Lordships' view, effect the subsequent entry of a congregation into the Union, the case has thus not been competently provided for in either statute. Appropriate legislative measures can readily be taken, if so desired, to deal with the matter."

They further declared:

> "The Act [i.e. of the Nova Scotia legislature] with its consequences might properly enough apply if the congregation could by force of its own decision enter the Union and become part of the United Church. But how could it reasonably apply to the congregation and its property from the date of a decision to apply for reception, for the United Church might decline to receive it?"

The committee on Law and Legislation of the United Church, subsequent to the decision of the Privy Council, studied the Basis of Union and the manual of the United Church to see how this defect in the Dominion legislation might be rectified without recourse to further parliamentary legislation. The Basis of Union, which had been annexed to the Dominion act, gave to presbyteries the duty of "forming new pastoral charges" within their bounds, and Sections 24 and 73 of the *Manual* had enlarged upon these duties, thus:

> "73. It shall be the duty of Presbytery (a) to have the oversight of the Pastoral Charges within its bounds, review their records and form new Pastoral Charges, Local Churches or Home Mission Fields."

The committee on Law and Legislation recommended that as these powers had been given to presbytery by the Basis of Union, and hence by the Dominion act, Section 73 should be amended by adding the words,

> "including congregations referred to in sub-section (a) of section 10 of the United Church of Canada Act (Dominion)."

These were, of course, the non-concurring congregations. The General Council at its 1930 meeting adopted the recommendations of the committee on Law and Legislation and sent the proposed amendment down to presbyteries under the Barrier Act, and the Council, in 1932, passed the amending legislation. In this way the United Church hopes to provide a means by which any non-concurring congregation that wishes to join the United Church may do so. It is doubtful, however, if any will take advantage of the new proposal, especially since the Dominion act also included in its provisions for a non-concurring church, these words:

> "in such case the property, real and personal, belonging to or held in trust for or to the use of such non-concurring congregations shall remain unaffected by this Act, except that any church formed by non-concurring congregations of the respective negotiating Churches into which such congregation enters shall stand in the place of the respective negotiating Churches in respect of any trusts relating to such property, and except that in respect of any such congregation which does not enter any church so formed such property shall be held by the existing trustees or other trustees elected by the congregation free from any trust or reversion in favor of the respective negotiating churches and free from any control thereof or connection therewith."

Practically all the non-concurring congregations joined together in the continuing Presbyterian Church and while the legal status of this latter is still uncertain, it may be able to prevent one of its congregations from entering the United Church without its own consent.

Meanwhile, the unionists of Saltsprings had built themselves a new church directly behind the old church, and practically all the people whose families belonged to the old church now attend the new, while the old church is largely in the possession of those who formerly attended the Free Church on the hill. Politics and history combined with the law to provide this little communtiy with all the essential requirements for an excellent novel.

Legacies

There were other important court cases involving decisions in the matter of legacies, most of which had been included in wills made prior to June 10, 1925, and not altered after the consummation of Union. Should a legacy made to one of the boards of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, in a will not executed until after the Union, be paid to the United Church or to the church of the non-concurring congregations which calls itself the Presbyterian Church in Canada? In case the testator had, prior to his death, himself joined the non-concurrents, would this affect the disposition of such a legacy?

In most of these instances the decision was not unlike that made in a suit in New Brunswick, where the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court ruled that by becoming a United church the Presbyterian church had neither lost its identity nor changed its nature nor become something foreign to that which the testator had intended to benefit by his bounty.

In one Nova Scotia case, however, the ruling was different. Eliza Patriquin, of Tatamagouche, made her will Jan. 5, 1924, giving to the trustees of the Tatamagouche Presbyterian Church an outright gift of $100 and in addition made such church the residuary legatee. This church voted, a year later, in favor of Union, and Eliza Patriquin joined with the non-concurring minority in forming the Sedgwick Memorial Church. She died May 22, 1926, without having altered her will in any way. The legacy was claimed by both the Tatamagouche United Church and the Sedgwick Memorial Church, while the next of kin of the testatrix contended that neither congregation was eligible to receive the bequest. A decision favorable to the United church was first given but later an Appellate Court reversed this decision in favor of the next of kin, holding that the Sedgwick Memorial Church was not in existence at the time the will was made, and that the former Tatamagouche Presbyterian Church had, in becoming the Tatamagouche United Church, changed its status. The local congregation of the United Church then appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada, which sustained the judgment of the Appellate Court. In this instance, the situation was possibly influenced by the obvious loyalty of the testatrix herself, although the courts held that "the religious affiliation of the testatrix after the 10th of June, 1925, was not a factor which could be considered as deciding as to the legal meaning of her will." There are certain issues in this situation which need to be cleared up in a case not complicated by the known personal attitude of the testator or testatrix.

General Conclusions

The success or failure of the promoters of Church Union in their efforts to secure adequate enabling legislation must be judged by the variety of legal problems which arose after 1925, most of which have been settled in a way satisfactory to the claims of the United Church, although certain of the decisions reveal difficulties due to the necessities of securing legislation from Dominion and provincial parliaments concurrently. The Privy Council, in giving its judgment on the Saltsprings case, began as follows:

> "Profiting by the experience of the Presbyterian Churches which united in Scotland in 1900, the Canadian Churches which proposed to unite in 1925 adopted the safe course of invoking in advance the sanction of the legislature to their union. They have, nevertheless, not been entirely successful, as the present appeal shows, in avoiding the pitfalls which seem to lie in the path of all legislative efforts to deal with ecclesiastical affairs."

These words from the judgment pronounced by Lord MacMillan emphasize the utmost significance of questions of law in all matters relating to union, and the imperative need of the most thorough and exhaustive study of all legal complications that may arise prior to any actual and specific movement for union. There are, for instance, at least forty-nine states in the United States, as against nine Canadian provinces, and to secure the necessary legislation in these states, especially in the face of a determined minority, might tax the ingenuity of the legal advisors. Here, as elsewhere, it is well to look before one leaps.

In general, however, The United Church of Canada has at least secured, indirectly, the approbation on the part of the Privy Council of the Dominion Act, and no longer needs to fear any possible consequences of the concluding paragraph in that piece of legislation:

> "Inasmuch as questions have arisen and may arise as to the powers of the Parliament of Canada under the British North America Act to give legislative effect to the provisions of this Act, it is hereby declared that it is intended by this Act to sanction the provisions therein contained in so far and in so far only as it is competent for the Parliament to do so."

The Privy Council has given priority to the competence of the Dominion Parliament to pass such legislation.

The advisability of providing equities for non-concurring minorities, either in denominational property or in local church property, is a moot question. Without provisions for such equities, the legislation might not have been obtained. On the other hand, it is difficult to see how any equitable adjustment of this matter, especially in the case of the vast majority of local congregations, is possible. In the light of the Canadian experience, the director of this study believes that no equities should be admitted in the case of local congregations; to admit their possibility is simply to invite bitterness, mutual recrimination and community havoc. If no equities had been promised, many congregations that split would probably have remained intact.

On the other hand, the recognition of certain equities of denominational property would seem to be inevitable, especially in the case of the pension funds of the church. Outside of the pension funds, however, it does not seem to the director that any equities should be given to minorities unless the minority was of a specified minimum strength. This was the original recommendation of those who prepared the bill, but it was rejected in favor of the more generous terms by the Church Union Committee of the former Presbyterian Church in Canada. A prospective minority might be able to manipulate its scruples more readily if it had no certainty of securing any considerable share of the property. What is more, the arbitrary division of such fields undoubtedly breaks the well-established loyalties of individuals and churches which find themselves deprived of a favorite or traditional charity. Even, however, in the case of a small minority of congregations provision might be made whereby such congregations could be relieved of any liens or indebtedness on the local property held by the denomination as a whole.

In connection with the whole question of equities, those who argued the case before the legislatures and opposed the recognition of rights of minority groups in any local congregation to any equity in the property of the particular church, urged two main reasons:

First, a church, unlike any business concern, does not admit the equity of any individual member in the property. He may have contributed thousands of dollars to its building or support, but if he leaves the precincts of the parish and seeks membership elsewhere or nowhere, he leaves the amount he contributed where it was.

Secondly, how is a local congregation to pay an equity unless it volunteers to do so? Money is raised on a voluntary basis, and if the members refuse to contribute there is no way of securing the necessary funds unless the church property is mortgaged. Most mortgagees, however, will not give money on church property unless the mortgage is endorsed by certain persons of reputable financial standing. If these men are unwilling to sign their names, the money is not forthcoming. Hence, the situation in a church is entirely different from that in any ordinary business corporation.

CHAPTER XIII

Administrative Developments in the United Church

When the First General Council of The United Church of Canada was constituted on June 10, 1925, there were still three provinces in which the voting had not taken place, and where it was still unknown which churches might vote non-concurrence. Consequently, a major task of this Council was simply to get started. A certain amount of time was inevitably spent in congratulatory messages from sister churches, in such formalities as presentations and, on the part of the individual members, in souvenir-gathering. The Moderator was presented by the foreign mission boards with a gavel specially constructed of pieces of wood brought from the eleven different foreign mission fields of the United Church; the board of publications presented a massive oak table on which the commissioners affixed their signatures to the "Basis"; the wife of a former General Superintendent of the Methodist Church presented a gold pen with which these signatures were affixed; an individual minister, well known for extraordinary feats in wood-carving, presented the first Moderator and the first Secretary with canes carved in extraordinary fashion with texts of Scripture in Hebrew, Greek and Latin and with other symbols appropriate to the occasion; various documents which had been used in preparing the doctrinal Basis of Union were also presented to the church. Those charged with the responsibilities for the arrangement of the inaugural exercises also received certain presentations, the Oxford Press presenting one of them with the copy of the Bible which had been used at these exercises. Even the 250 tin pie-plates that had been used in taking up the first collection were carefully salvaged by one church official, who intends to have them decorated and later sold to swell the missionary funds of the church.

The First General Council did not, however, ignore the demands of business, but took whatever steps were necessary and possible at the moment to complete the organization of the church and to start the machinery. Indeed, it required four General Councils to clarify procedure and to make more explicit the administrative genius of the United Church. The General Council meets ordinarily biennially. This is itself a compromise between the annual meetings held by the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists, and the quadrennial meetings of the Methodist General Conference. In a country of such magnificent distances as Canada, a General Council of the Church involves a considerable expenditure of time and money, and there is much to be said in behalf of the custom of the former Methodist Church in holding nation-wide gatherings only once in four years, especially when so much more importance is placed upon the annual conferences than the Presbyterians ever placed upon their annual synods. As it is, whatever economy is effected in not holding *annual* meetings of the General Council is more than offset by the fact that they are not held quadrennially but biennially.[1] Undoubtedly, a large section of the church would oppose quadrennial gatherings, fearing that in the interim between meetings too great power would be assumed by boards, departmental secretaries and other "princes of the Church." Moreover, the Basis of Union specifically states that the regular meeting of the General Council shall be held every second year.

Up to the time of the preparation of this report, five General Councils of the United Church have been held in the following cities: 1925, Toronto; 1926, Montreal; 1928, Winnipeg; 1930, London; 1932, Hamilton. The Rev. T. Albert Moore, D.D., Secretary of the General Council since the inception of the church until his election as Moderator in 1932, has stated the major emphases of the first four Councils as follows:

> "The First General Council in Toronto, 1925, witnessed the consummation of Church Union and the organization of The United Church of Canada. The Second General Council, in Montreal, 1926, gave special attention to the general work of the Church and provided constitutions for her General Boards. The Third General Council, in Winnipeg, 1928, gave careful consideration to administration affecting congregations and Presbyteries for the most part, and adopted the Manual. The Fourth General Council in London, 1930, revised the Manual, considered the work of the General Boards and strengthened plans for carrying out the outstanding objectives of The United Church." [2]

It will be observed that at these Councils much time and energy were devoted to the mechanics of church administration, and there are some who feel that in this preoccupation the United Church has rather neglected thermo-dynamics. In view, however, of the complexity and intricacy of the administrative problems and the high potentiality of the Union itself, the Councils were justified in seeking every possible means of facilitating proper procedures and preventing the emergence of disastrous frictions. In pre-union days, the members of the three denominations would know for the most part the correct procedure to be followed in almost any situation. The Methodists would have dealt with it in one way; the Congregationalists in another; the Presbyterians in a third way. Once, however, the churches became one, there was a general uncertainty, in spite of the principles laid down in the "Basis," as to method, and had not agreement on these points been immediately sought and found, the church might easily have been shattered by misunderstandings and fears. There is, therefore, a lesson here for all advocates of church union to note. Any effort to harmonize the procedures of denominations with different philosophies and politics will inevitably require time and patience, and those who anticipate from such a union a great and immediate release of spiritual power should be admonished to be patient. Any united church thus created must of necessity feel its way through a veritable labyrinth of administrative difficulties before the time is ripe for concentration on the more distinctly spiritual objectives of the church. There is, however, a certain dynamic which is created by the very process of such adjustments.

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[1] Prior to Union there were nine annual gatherings in the three churches in a quadrennium; now there are six in the Presbyterian and the United churches.

[2] In an article in *The New Outlook*, September 21, 1932.

One of the primary tasks of the agenda committee entrusted with the preparation of business for the First General Council was methodically to go through the Basis of Union and every United Church of Canada Act, whether passed by the Dominion Parliament or by provincial legislatures, and to note every item which called for action by the General Council. These items were then assigned to special sub-committees for consideration and report.

While it is impossible to treat in detail the development of these administrative adjustments, they might be properly considered under a few major heads:

1. The Organization of Conferences and Presbyteries.
2. The Elaboration of the Basis of Union into a Manual.
3. Problems Relating to the Ministry—Ordination, Settlement, Annuity Funds, etc.
4. The Departmental Reorganization of the Church.

Each of these major administrative problems requires separate elaboration.

1. The Organization of Conferences and Presbyteries

On June 10, 1925, the former presbyteries and synods connected with the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the district meetings and annual conferences of the Methodist Church, Canada, and the various Congregational Associations technically passed out of existence. They died intestate without legal heirs to take their places, until a General Council had established the boundaries of conferences.[3] The necessary action was taken at the First General Council. The Basis of Union had given to conferences the responsibility of declaring the boundaries of presbyteries, but the special commission appointed by the Council to establish the bounds of conferences also designated, at least tentatively, the bounds of presbyteries, thus facilitating the speedy organization of the church on territorial lines. In naming conferences and setting their boundaries, the General Council also appointed in each conference and in each presbytery a small committee which was charged with summoning the first meetings of such conferences and presbyteries. It was further enacted that presbyteries should be called to convene not later than September 30, 1925, and that conferences should convene not later than October 31, 1925. Had the General Council not determined the bounds of presbyteries, the presbyteries could not have met and selected their representatives to conference, and hence conference could not have met.

Prior to Union, there had been little effort to harmonize the territorial administration of the three churches except in the West. The provincial bounds in the West were, however, coterminous with the bounds of conferences and synods and, as we have already pointed out in chapter viii, "Transitional Steps in Coöperation," each of these provinces had developed a number of district sub-committees on coöperation which thus provided a basis for the reconstruction of the presbyteries of the United Church in those provinces. There is little in the West corresponding to the county lines in the older provinces, the rural municipality being a somewhat different unit. Hence, western presbyteries were for the most part composed of pastoral charges located near particular branches of the railway. In the eastern provinces, on the other hand, a more radical reconstruction of presbyteries was attempted. Prior to Union, district meetings and presbyteries took their name from some central town and were usually composed of churches spread over a number of counties. After Union, there was an obvious effort to make the county bounds the boundaries of presbyteries; in many cases two counties would be united in a single presbytery, and in some cases, for the sake of convenience, occasional charges in an outlying county might be included in a presbytery to which the name of the adjoining county was given; but in general church union made possible in the East the identification of county and presbytery boundaries.

Quebec has always constituted a difficult administrative problem to any Protestant church, since in important areas there is simply no Protestant population. Most of the Protestant population is resident in or around Montreal in the south, or in the townships directly east of Montreal and the St. Lawrence River, and to a small extent along the banks of the Ottawa River and the north shore of the Baie de Chaleur. Hence, the charges on the northern shore of the Baie de Chaleur are attached to the Miramichi presbytery of the Maritime Conference. The other charges are either combined in the two presbyteries of Montreal and Quebec-Sherbrooke, or attached to the Ottawa Presbytery, in which most of the charges are in the Province of Ontario. These three presbyteries, together with two others entirely within the Province of Ontario, constitute the Montreal and Ottawa Conference. Again, the vast and almost uninhabited district between the Manitoba boundary and the older parts of Ontario makes it advisable to attach certain of the presbyteries in New Ontario to the Manitoba Conference rather than to any of the Ontario conferences. For this reason, it is not always easy to make comparisons between statistics presented by provinces in the Dominion census and those presented under conferences in church Year Books. The general tendency since Union has, however, been a closer approximation between ecclesiastical and political boundaries.

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[3] By a vote of the First General Council, the district meetings, presbyteries and associations, conferences and synods continued to enjoy their respective powers, rights, authorities and privileges until the conferences and presbyteries of the United Church had been validly constituted. In so complete a redistribution of territory, however, the question of legal continuity becomes involved.

2. The Elaboration of the Basis of Union into a Manual

When the First General Council met in 1925, the United Church had a Basis of Union and several acts of parliament or of legislatures to guide it, but it had no rules of procedure. Indeed, for its first meeting it drew up "Rules of Debate and Order," consisting of some fifty-five items under which the business of those sessions should be conducted, the preamble to which stated that "the principles of procedure and rules for the House of Commons of Canada, as far as they apply, shall govern the proceedings of the Council, subject to special rules that have been or may be adopted."

While these rules served their immediate purpose, they did not touch other than problems immediately concerned with the conduct of the meeting, and the task of elaborating the principles set forth in the Basis of Union into a *Manual,* covering the correct procedures and methods for every foreseen contingency, took several years of discussion and experimentation. Only in 1928 was the first edition of the *Manual* issued under the authority of the General Council of 1926, by the executive, "subject to revision and amendment by the next General Council." Much of the time of the Winnipeg General Council, in 1928, was devoted to such revision, and a new edition was then issued in 1929. It was intended that the period 1928–1930 should be a period of experimentation, in which the limitations and defects of the *Manual* might be noted with a view to fuller revision later. This was effected at the General Council in London, 1930, and the present edition was published in 1931. Undoubtedly, revisions will continue to be made at successive meetings of the General Council, but on the whole the major lines of administrative policy have been already crystallized.

The Basis of Union is, in a sense, the Magna Charta of the United Church, and its provisions have for that church the sanctity that a treaty has for honorable nations. To be sure, its terms and provisions are not unchangeable, for The United Church of Canada (Dominion) Act clearly stipulates in Section 28, (b):

> "Nothing in this Act contained shall be deemed to limit the independent and exclusive right and power of the United Church to legislate in all matters concerning its doctrine, worship, discipline and government, including therein the right and power from time to time to frame, adopt, alter, change, add to or modify its laws, subordinate standards, and formulas and to determine and declare the same or any of them, *but subject to the conditions and safeguards in that behalf contained in the Basis of Union.*"

The Basis of Union itself gives to the General Council full power, Section 24(2):

> "To legislate on matters respecting the doctrine, worship, membership and government of the Church, subject to the conditions: First, that before any rule or law relative to these matters can become a permanent law, it must receive the approval of a majority of the Presbyteries, and, if advisable, pastoral charges also; Second, that no terms of admission to full membership shall be described other than those laid down in the New Testament; and Third, that the freedom of worship at present enjoyed in the negotiating churches shall not be interfered with in The United Church."

All three provisions are pregnant with safeguards; the first in particular is an adoption of the Barrier Act of the former Presbyterian Church under which only the approval of a majority of the presbyteries can lift the barrier to the enactment of any new legislation, and there are certain types of legislation which, under the terms of Union, the General Council itself is incompetent to enact, e.g., it may recommend but it cannot prescribe the exact formulas of worship for use in churches.

The Basis of Union, therefore, is somewhat analogous to the Constitution of the United States, or to the provisions of the British North America Act which created the Confederation of Canada in 1867. Whatever its limitations, it is a sacred document and nothing may be done that violates the essential spirit of the engagements and agreements therein made. To this end, one of the first acts of the First General Council was to appoint a standing committee on Law and Legislation which was not alone to take charge of the various legal problems following Church Union, but also to examine all proposed legislation of the church and to advise the church if anything in such proposed legislation was contrary to the provisions of the Basis of Union. This committee is not a Court of Appeal; nor is it in any sense analogous to the Supreme Court of the United States or to the Privy Council of Great Britain. The General Council itself is the highest court in the church, and this committee's functions are purely advisory. It advises the officials of the church in much the same way as the Attorney-General's department would advise the executive authorities of the government on the legality of any proposed measure. Nevertheless, though only advisory, it has undoubtedly succeeded in preserving a profound respect for the provisions of the "Basis" and obviated any rash legislation which might possibly have been interpreted as a betrayal of the terms of Union.

Before the Basis of Union could be elaborated into the *Manual,* and its general principles translated into terms of correct procedure, every section of the "Basis" and every section of every act, Dominion or provincial, under which the United Church received its corporate authority, had to be minutely scrutinized, and every item noted on which further legislation or action was required by General Council, conference or presbytery. As the necessary action was taken, the fundamental data for the compilation of the *Manual* was being gathered.

A concrete instance of this elaboration of principles into procedures is furnished in the provisions for changing the constitution itself. The powers of the General Council have been stated above, as provided first in The United Church of Canada Act, and secondly, in the Basis of Union. The *Manual,* however, goes farther in Section 121:

> "I. When any proposed law or rule is to be submitted to the Presbyteries, the General Council directly, or through its Executive, shall prepare the remit and all necessary documents, and determine the dates within which the vote shall be taken and returns reported to the Executive. Presbyteries shall consider such remit at either a regular meeting or a special meeting called for that purpose. Replies to the remit must be in the affirmative, or the negative, without qualification.
>
> "II. If a majority of the Presbyteries express approval the General Council may enact the proposed legislation. If a majority of the Presbyteries express disapproval the General Council shall not enact the proposed law or rule, but may remit it again to the Presbyteries.
>
> "III. If the General Council desires to make effective a rule or law which is being submitted to the Presbyteries, pending the final action of the next General Council, it may determine by two-thirds of the votes cast that the said rule or law shall come into effect upon a fixed date, provided the Executive declares that two-thirds of the Presbyteries have given their approval.
>
> "IV. When the General Council decides that it is advisable to remit a proposed law or rule to pastoral charges, also, it shall determine the conditions and methods of procedure under which their judgment shall be obtained.

In all this, we witness the transmutation of powers into procedures. As the present *Manual* contains no less than 419 sections, and is in itself a book of 228 pages (including the index), a detailed analysis of its growth and development would prove a volume in itself. Any one who wishes to study the administrative genius of the United Church, or to assume any position of authority respecting it, must master the matter therein contained.

So far, it has not been necessary to remit to presbyteries many proposed amendments to the basic law of the church. The most notable of these instances have been:

(a) A provision permitting the ordination of women both to the ministry and the diaconate. (Results: Favorable, 32; Unfavorable, 34; Approve principle, but advise to defer action, 23; Favorable in report to diaconate, 13; Unfavorable in report to diaconate, 5; No report, 23. The matter was dropped on the ground that there was no urgent demand for such a provision).

(b) A provision making for the eligibility of women to sessions. (Results in 1928: Favorable, 42; Unfavorable, 13; Approve principle but advise to defer action, 2; No report, 55. Moved to secure ruling from committee on Law and Legislation whether the word "men" in 2B, 9A of the Basis of Union may not legally be held to include women, and in case of a negative reply to devise a means whereby, under the Barrier Act, the necessary change may be secured. A negative reply was obtained and the General Council of 1930 voted to remit to presbyteries an amendment which changed the word "men" to "members in full communion." The Hamilton Council in 1932 dealt with the returns to this remit).

(c) A provision permitting the Foreign Mission Councils under the United Church to elect commissioners to General Council. (Results: Favorable, 93; Opposed, 0; No action, 21. The sub-executive of the Executive Committee, therefore, in view of power given them to act in such a case, declared the amendment in effect).

(d) A provision amending the section in the *Manual* whereby churches which had voted non-concurrence might be included specifically among those churches which presbyteries might, if they deemed advisable, receive into full membership in the United Church, thus obviating the legal difficulty set forth by the Privy Council in its decision in the Saltsprings Case. (Results: Favorable, 89; Unfavorable, 0; No Report, 25. Amendment declared in effect by the sub-executive of the Executive Committee).

It is perhaps well to point out that while the Basis of Union laid down the powers of the respective courts, it had little or nothing to say in respect to the number and function of officials of such courts. When the First General Council convened, it had to decide, for instance, what it should call its presiding officer. There was no reference in the "Basis" to a moderator, a chairman, a president or a secretary, nor to their terms of office; in the same way there were no references to similar officials in the conferences and Presbyteries. Only after some discussion was it agreed that the presiding officer of the General Council should be called Moderator; that the presiding officer of Conference should be called President; that the presiding officer of Presbytery should be called Chairman. Old customs die slowly, however, and there is always a ripple of amusement when some impassioned prophet in Conference forgets himself and addresses the Chair as Mr. Moderator, or in similar ways betrays his denominational origin.

Nor must it be assumed that new developments in administrative procedure will henceforth be rare. At the time of writing, there is a strong agitation in certain circles to create a Court of Appeal, such as existed in the former Methodist Church, which would deal with all appeals against rulings of lower courts. At the present time, the General Council itself alone is such a court, and there are undoubted cases which ought to be handled by a smaller group and not consume the time of several hundred commissioners.

Again, the exact duties of the Moderator of the General Council have not yet been fully determined. There have been five moderators to date. One of them, the first, was drawn from the active pastorate; the next two and the fifth were administrative officials of the church at the time of their election; the fourth was the principal of one of the theological colleges. The position of Moderator in the United Church is one of great honor and at the same time one that demands a good deal of the incumbent. He is called upon to preside not only at the meetings of the Council but at those of the Executive Committee; to travel extensively throughout the entire Dominion in his two years' tenure of office, giving himself unstintingly to the encouragement of the work in all the conferences and presbyteries; to represent The United Church of Canada on important formal occasions such as the gatherings of church bodies in other countries, notably the United Kingdom, and even to visit one or more of the foreign fields. It is quite obvious that such duties lay an intolerable burden on a man in the active pastorate, and it is difficult to see how The United Church of Canada can expect the fulfillment of such responsibilities from men who must perform for the church other duties than those directly associated with the Moderatorship. It would seem that the church must develop its conception of the Moderator's office either by providing for a longer tenure, which would make it possible for a Moderator-elect to resign any other position he holds and give his entire time to his new duties, or else to create certain vice-moderators or deputy-moderators who may share something of his prestige as well as his responsibilities.

If the final solution is the lengthening of the tenure of office, the United Church may commit itself to something that approximates to what might be called a pragmatic or constitutional episcopate, and this may draw more closely together the Church of England in Canada and the United Church. In this connection, attention may be called to the fact that while the Methodist Church in Canada had broken away from the episcopate, it did maintain a General Superintendent, elected for eight years, and eligible for reelection at the end of that time. On the other hand, the Presbyterian Church in Canada had a new Moderator each year, and this high position was shared at one time or another by a large number of the leaders of the church. Moreover, whatever social affinities with Anglicanism Presbyterians might admit, they have inherited from Scotland the results of the bitter struggle which followed the efforts of the Crown to inflict an episcopate upon the kirk. Hence those trained in this system may find themselves temperamentally unable to adjust themselves to any union that seems to imply an episcopate.[4]

3. The Problem of the Ministry

"The administrative adjustments of the United Church have all been satisfactorily made except at one point. In the settlement of ministers, the machinery grinds." This statement of the Very Reverend William T. Gunn, D.D., third Moderator of the United Church, made some two weeks before his death, was corroborated by an almost identical phrasing of the situation on the part of practically every minister interviewed during the course of this study.

The fundamental difficulty in the settlement of ministers is implicit in the effort to reconcile two different, if not contradictory, theories of the ministry, and the longer one observes the course of this effort, the less ready he is to assume that the apposition of "either . . . or" can always be resolved into the inclusive "both . . . and." Indeed, there may be differences of procedure, based upon fundamental differences of philosophy, in which the Hegelian synthesis of thesis and antithesis is impossible. The inner logic of one procedure may be utterly inconsistent with the inner logic of the other, and the only hope of reconciliation may be in the fact that the rank and file of people, both in the pew and in the pulpit, live not by logic but by compromise.

In its primitive form, the Congregational theory is that the minister is a member of a local church chosen by itself to be its pastor and teacher, deriving, as Heermance says, "all the power he possesses from the church which calls him for service." For this reason, even today, a Congregational minister, before he is installed, must present evidence that he has transferred his church-membership to the individual church over which he is to be installed as pastor. The Congregational minister is thus far removed from all sacerdotalism, although his church has itself evolved a conception and a practice of a professional ministry. Practically all Congregational ministers are ordained and installed not by the individual church alone, but by either an association or a council of churches and ministers of the vicinage (similar to a presbytery), called on the invitation of a particular church. In those New England states where Congregationalism was for years the standing order, and supported by public taxation, not only are ministers so installed by council but when once thus installed they can only be removed by a "dismissal council" similarly constituted, which alone has the power to declare the pastoral relation terminated. Until such council has declared such pastoral relation terminated, the minister has the right, not only ecclesiastical but civil, to continue in the ministry of that church whether the congregation wishes so or otherwise, and to collect his salary. In other places, however, Congregational churches sometimes proceed to ordain and install a minister without such a council, although in doing so they run the risk that they themselves, together with the minister whom they have installed, may be denied fellowship with other Congregational churches and other Congregational ministers. Any reading of the minutes of the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec in the years 1873, 1876, 1878 and 1880 makes it reasonably apparent that some Canadian Congregational churches had ignored the usual procedure in the calling of their ministers, often with disastrous results. Canadian churches were more largely influenced by English independency than by the consociationism of American Congregationalism.

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[4] See *Statement Concerning Ordination to the Ministry,* issued by the United Church, pages 37 and 38, notably certain quotations: "The Reformers did not object to Episcopacy so long as Bishops were not regarded as a separate order by Divine Right."

In the Presbyterian Church ordination and induction were the prerogative of presbytery, although the initiative in extending the call was, largely as the result of a two-hundred-year struggle against patronage in Scotland, claimed by the individual church. Presbytery, however, had a technical right to decline concurrence in a call which the individual church might give, and there are instances in Scotland where presbyteries have sent men to take charge of parishes, which for one reason or another had been left vacant.

In Methodist theory, the ministry consists of those who have been duly set apart by some central authority and sent to a specific field, or commissioned to a specific undertaking, by such authorities, with power to represent *them* in that particular field or undertaking.

As has been pointed out in the chapter on "Preparing the Basis of Union," the differences in the philosophy of the ministry created, perhaps, the most mooted point in the negotiations leading up to Union. It had seemed, however, to those entrusted with the framing of the "Basis," that a harmony of the two philosophies was possible, for in the "Basis," the section on Ministry began:

> "Recognizing the desirability of preserving the essence of both the settled pastorate and the itineracy, the Joint Committee is of the opinion that a harmony of both principles is possible, and that the best features of both systems may be retained."

The "Basis" thereupon lays down ten fundamental principles of procedure, the first two of which are:

> 1. The pastoral relation shall be without a time limit.
> 2. The policy of the church shall be that every pastoral charge shall have, as far as possible, a pastorate without interruption, and that every effective minister shall have a pastoral charge.

The remaining provisions deal chiefly with the establishment of a conference settlement committee which should have authority in the matter compatible with the acknowledged "right of call," thus:

> While the right of appointment shall rest with the Settlement Committee it shall comply as far as possible with the expressed wishes of ministers and pastoral charges.

There is little doubt that the Congregational and Presbyterian members of the Joint Committee felt that a settlement committee whose powers were so circumscribed would simply perform functions which, in their respective denominations, were already performed by the ecclesiastical council *pro re nata,* or the presbytery, and viewed the second principle that "every effective minister shall have a pastoral charge" as something of pious aspiration after a consummation devoutly to be wished. It was, however, the enunciation of this second principle that created the major difficulty after Union.

Even under normal conditions, it might have been difficult to harmonize in practice the two philosophies. Since it is a fundamental principle that there can be no responsibilities without correlative privileges, it is really hopeless to give a settlement committee the responsibility for placing men, if at the same time the power of making appointments is so qualified that it becomes practically negligible. If churches have the right of call and no church wants certain men as their ministers, there is simply nothing that such a settlement committee can do about it. They may advise, they may urge, they may cajole—but in the end they can only provide that "every effective minister shall have a pastoral charge," to use the words of the "Basis," "as far as possible." When, in addition, Methodist ministers were accustomed to depend upon the stationing committee to provide them with appointments, they found themselves deficient in the technique for acquiring pastoral charges which the "call system" develops. Preaching for a call was anathema to them, and while they might have been adept at the type of wirepulling which their own system encouraged, they were not conversant with the analogous methods used by those who had to reckon with the other system. Further, when membership in a pension fund is compulsory and when ministers have to pay on a graduated scale, up to 7 per cent. of their salaries into a fund from which they can hope for nothing unless they attain old age and have a specified number of years in the active service of their church to their credit, they have a vested interest of a very definite kind in their profession, and any attempt to place them among the unemployed is inviting a storm. These difficulties, however great, might have been overcome within a single communion, which desired to essay such an experiment in integration, but the conditions surrounding the consummation of union of the three churches in Canada made matters still more complicated.

In the first place, any union of churches is largely designed to offset competitive charges and to induce consolidations of local churches. But every such consolidation means one less pastoral charge, and consequently a diminution of the total number of possible vacancies. As Canadian communities took immediate steps in 1925 towards local consolidations, it threw an impossible burden upon the provisional settlement committees and forced them in the end to take positive steps to discourage consolidations. Here, indeed, is one plain lesson from the experiment in Canada which American churches will do well to ponder. If the fruit of church union is to be local consolidations, then it is self-evident that there must be a large number of ministers thrown out of work unless they are possibly re-absorbed by a ministry which is increasingly specialized—as directors of religious education or young people's work, pastoral visitors, etc. Canada has not, however, taken kindly to such a dual or departmentalized ministry, for reasons which we shall mention later. It may be said quite bluntly that there is a grave danger at this point that the church authorities, seeking "a pastoral charge for every effective minister," may easily fall into the grave danger of acting as if the church were made for the ministry and not the ministry for the church. On the other hand, if churches are to contribute anything of value to industrial reconstruction and if they are to have any message to industrial leaders regarding unemployment insurance, they should at least present their "message" with clean hands, and if they shelve men after years of faithful service in the interests of "economy" and "efficiency" they can hardly hope to be taken seriously as they urge employers of labor to give to their employees securities which they have failed to offer to their own servants.

In the second place, church union, as effected in Canada, was particularly unfavorable to such an experiment in ecclesiastical unemployment insurance. As a result of the taking of the vote in the Presbyterian churches, 187 ministers were forced to resign their charges on little notice and, in the case of most of them, with no assets to tide them over in the interval elapsing before they found new charges. For the most part, churches that profited by the incorporation of a unionist minority took over the ousted minister with the minority and continued to support him until some more satisfactory adjustment of his case could be made. But there were many instances where ministers suffered great hardship and had to be supported out of a special fund;[5] others left the ministry in the interim and have not returned to it. It was no light matter, while consolidations were going on in various parts of the country, to have the additional problem of providing for 187 surplus ministers thrust upon the ecclesiastical authorities.

Then, again, Canada has not taken kindly, as has been indicated, to the departmentalized ministry. For the most part, the average Canadian congregation is rather conventional in its general attitude towards the work of the church. It has not only inherited the "old country" traditional attitude towards the minister but also has seldom thought through the specific function of the church in the community. Again, economic considerations weigh heavily. Any one who examines the statistics of the United Church today is impressed with the fact that, while the minimum salary is fairly high, not many men in the church receive more than $4,000 a year and house.[6] A United church in Canada, raising an aggregate of $25,000 a year for all purposes, may devote more than $10,000 of this amount to missions or the schemes of the church, while it gives its minister not more, perhaps, than $3,500. Proportionately to their income, Canadian churches seem to invest more largely than American churches in missionary work, and these demands exhaust the funds otherwise available for more intensive professional work on the part of religious educators, etc., in the local church.

What is still more important, the trying experiences of many churches under a dual ministry in the period of readjustment have prejudiced many Canadian congregations against any but a single ministry. They saw, then, at close range the possibilities for jealousy in such an arrangement, and it will be difficult to convince some of them that jealousy is not inevitable in such a departmentalized church. It must be admitted, moreover, that Canadian ministers themselves do not take kindly to the sharing of responsibilities with junior ordained men. The director of this study frequently put to them this question: "If you could only secure the paid help of one person in your parish, would you prefer (a) an assistant minister, (b) a director of religious education, (c) a deaconess, (d) a superannuated minister devoting himself entirely to pastoral visitation, or (e) a church secretary?" Almost invariably they indicated a preference for the church secretary, or failing that, for a superannuated minister who would visit the sick and needy. They were manifestly fearful lest a young assistant might want to preach regularly and perhaps even wrest the parish out of their hands. While they looked with favor upon a deaconess, they were somewhat contemptuous of the idiosyncrasies of modern directors of religious education. A closer examination of such attitudes might illuminate ecclesiastical psychology. It needs only to be mentioned, however, at this point to explain in a large measure why the problem of the ministry in the United Church is being solved somewhat slowly.

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[5] A central emergency fund was created which paid out $78,000 the first year, 78 payments being made to ministers and 104 payments to unionist minorities or congregations weakened as a result of the vote.

[6] Only 31 pastoral charges employing ordained men out of 2,647 pay salaries of $5,100 or more, and of these 16 do not provide a house.

There is still one other complicating factor. Canada has few cities, and most of the ministers have to spend their lives in small and somewhat dismal towns, in rural areas or on the frontier. Practically all theological students during their course must spend at least one summer in new settlements on the prairies or in the mining camps of New Ontario, but while this is an exciting experience for a summer, it is not an alluring life for a young man who has spent seven years in the city securing his education and fallen in love, perchance, with a young girl who is also a college graduate. Even if the romance of youth enables such a couple to enter a frontier parish with enthusiasm, they begin to think differently as their children reach the age for college or high school, and then their eyes are cast wistfully in the direction of two or three of the eastern conferences. But when a man has once been attached to, let us say, the Toronto conference, it is as easy to move him out as it is to oust a minister who has finally been able to get to California. Consequently, the saturation of ministers in Canada is most marked in a few eastern conferences, while the West can always use more men than it has. It is one thing for the West to want the men, but it is another thing to get the men who have served their apprenticeship to go.

Now, in the United Church, the ordination and settlement of ministers is in the hands of conference—not of presbytery. With the pressure, however, of men to enter certain conferences and their reluctance to get out when they are once in, these conferences confront a difficult problem when, operating under the "call" system, they are expected to provide a pastoral charge for every effective minister. Hence they are apt to require the transfer committee of the General Council, which alone can authorize the transfer of a minister from one conference to another, to hold up any transfer of a man from, let us say, a western conference to the Toronto conference, until they have been able to secure for some other member of their conference a call to fill the vacancy in the western conference.[7] In this way, they endeavor to effect "exchanges" if you will, and thus to preserve the even distribution of the ministry throughout the country. Only recently, the minister of Knox Church, Winnipeg, was thus called to St. Andrew's Church, Montreal. It was thereupon suggested that Knox Church consider the possibility of securing its minister from the Montreal conference. Knox Church acted on this suggestion, and thus the balance was not disturbed.

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[7] By "hold up" refusal is not implied, only delay. "Since the organization of the United Church, without exception, every minister who has received a bona fide call to a pastoral charge in another conference and applied for a transfer, has been transferred." See Minutes, Executive Council, April 30, 1930.

Small United churches, especially former Methodist churches, or augmented charges generally are frequently quite willing that the settlement committee select their ministers for them. In general, however, the right of call is not only affirmed but practised, although there are marked variations in procedure at this point. For the most part, all pastoral changes except those made to fill vacancies caused by death or resignation during the year, are made at the same time, viz., July the first. Some months prior to the spring meeting of conference, all charges that desire a change of minister or all ministers that desire a change of charges communicate their desire to the conference settlement committee. The next steps may vary with the different conferences. Sometimes, a list is compiled of all charges where vacancies are expected, and of all ministers that expect to be available for a call, and this list is circulated—perhaps weekly—among the ministers and the charges, in the hope that the charges may pick out some suitable man and that the man so selected will accept a call. When this is done, the fact is indicated in the next circular, so that all parties concerned may know that the man and the church in question are provided for. By the time conference meets most of the men are thus placed. Frequently, two men simply exchange pulpits.[8] Occasionally, one of the churches goes outside of conference and secures some one from another conference, and this necessarily involves correspondence with the other conference so affected to see if it will coöperate in converting the "call" into an "exchange," and it also involves correspondence with the transfer committee of the General Council.

In the Toronto conference, a pastoral relations committee has been instituted which works as a clearing-house within the conference, in connection with a pastoral relations committee in each presbytery.

> "The entire business of the committee is to serve pastoral charges and ministers in matters of ministerial relation and settlement. While the individual members of the committee may be approached informally by congregations or ministers, it was decided that only matters submitted in writing by the party or

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[8] Incidents are on record where a church has refused to extend a call to a superior man in another conference who was willing to come even at a salary smaller than that to which he had been accustomed, because the church in question was afraid that the church over which the prospective candidate was placed would not accept in exchange their minister.

parties concerned could be discussed by the committee. In the nature of the case these communications and conversations must be of a confidential nature. Requests for coöperation or guidance may be properly made by presbytery pastoral relations committee, by pastoral charges or by ministers." [9]

While this system has received favorable comment, the procedure in most cases would seem to involve a sharing of "confidence" with the presbytery committee who then share this "confidence" with the conference pastoral relations committee. It would seem fairly obvious that whatever merit such a system might possess would depend almost entirely upon the quality and fitness of the secretaries of such committees.

Tho whole procedure abounds in difficulties. The minister who wants to make a change hesitates to put his plea for a change in writing before the settlement committee since they will give publicity to his desire, and his own church will probably hear of it. Perhaps he may get a call to a church of much the same status as the one he already serves, but again he may not, in which case he may even find himself on the list of those whom the settlement committee finds it difficult, if not impossible, to place. So he prefers to bear the ills he has than fly to others that he knows not of, and often "stays put" when his congregation, the church at large and even himself wish him elsewhere. Again, while the settlement committee is composed of an equal number of ministers and laymen, the ministerial members may themselves be desirous of a change, in which case they may be tempted to use their privileged position to keep open their own lines of communication. That such a system is unsatisfactory may be gathered not only from repeated interviews but also from the fact that of thirty-eight overtures and memorials addressed to the General Council at Hamilton in 1932 and referred to the sessional committee on the *Manual* for consideration, twenty-seven dealt with the settlement of ministers.

It would of course be premature to state dogmatically that the attempt of the United Church to harmonize the two systems in the settlement of ministers has failed, or that the failure is due to the fact that the two systems are fundamentally irreconcilable; the director of this study may be allowed to point out that among the dangers confronting the United Church in regard to this question are the following:

(1) The system is likely to put the well-being of the ministers above the well-being of the churches, and while there is an inevitable interaction between the two, to safeguard the ministry at the expense of the church is fatal to both churches and ministers.

(2) It is likely to look upon the settlement of ministers as fundamentally an administrative task, when it is, in reality, a "personnel" problem, and should be

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[9] In an announcement in *The New Outlook,* September 28, 1932.

dealt with by specialists in personnel, entirely untrammelled by personal interests or by administrative duties of any other character.

(3) It is likely to protect from the harsh obloquy which they may deserve, a number of incompetents who, having once found their way into holy orders, can only be exorcised if they indulge in some scandalous behavior.

When any kind of "job" is scarce, and where good jobs are almost invisible, the psychology of the dog-in-the-manger expresses itself;[10] and when a main concern of a minister of religion is to hold his position, his usefulness is gone.

During the controversy, one of the leading non-concurrents in a certain town ended his argument against Union with the statement: "Whatever they tell you, if you vote into Union, you will not be allowed to call whatever minister you choose." The unionist minister of this particular church challenged the statement as a deliberate falsehood, declaring that churches would be free to choose their own ministers. Since Union, this particular minister had served in a prominent capacity on the settlement committee of his conference. The director of this study asked him point-blank: "Do you *still* think the non-concurrent speaker was a liar?" He replied: "No, I am not so sure of myself as I was in 1925."

While many tensions have undoubtedly arisen, in no case has the "right of call" been refused. To this extent, the provisions of the "Basis" have been scrupulously complied with, but at the same time pressure of various kinds has been exerted and occasionally a conference has threatened not to permit a transfer. The issue is not yet settled.[11]

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[10] Presbyteries have gone on record as being opposed to the reception of any more ministers, at least for the time being, from outside the United Church. This, of course, reflects in part the reaction of the native-born against the importation of men from the United Kingdom and the United States to fill outstanding Canadian pulpits.

[11] In spite of the difficulty encountered in the settlement of ministers, it must be said that the United Church has reason to feel that it is evolving a system superior to that which existed in any of the three churches prior to Union. Thus, Dr. George C. Pidgeon, first Moderator of the United Church, writes to the author:

"The United Church is supplementing its plan of settlement of ministers by doing through negotiation what the Methodist Church did by a central authority in each conference, what the Congregational Church did by local coöperation and the Presbyterian Church by a committee of the General Assembly. A pastoral relations committee has already been appointed in many presbyteries, which deals intimately with the ministers and congregations. This is related to a pastoral relations committee in the conference, which works through the year, endeavoring to bring together the minister who desires a charge and the congregation which is seeking a minister. There is no attempt to exercise authority; the rights of congregations and ministers are safeguarded and both appreciate the assistance such committees can give. Where these committees work faithfully through the year changes are brought about with less friction than under either of the systems which it superseded. The settlement committee of the conference has authority to act in the settlement of ministers but is required by the Basis of Union to give heed wherever possible to the choice of the congregation. A pastoral relations committee working under the General Council and its executive will crown the whole, because the ministry belongs to the church as a whole and has the whole church for its field."

If the home-mission finances permitted, more pastoral charges might advantageously be constructed in the western provinces and this would take care of the ministerial surplus; but this seems utterly impossible at the present time in spite of a general reduction in the minimum salaries of ministers of augmented charges. It is difficult to prophesy what the ultimate solution of this vexed problem will be. Perhaps, elements in the situation will include:

(1) The continued recognition of the provisions in the Basis of Union for both "right of call" and "settlement committee." If the right of call is denied, it is not impossible that some serious defection to the continuing Presbyterian Church or to the Anglican Church might follow. The settlement committee, moreover, will probably be retained, but its powers may become increasingly recognized as registrative rather than administrative.

(2) The present transfer committee of the General Council might be transmuted into a personnel bureau, with its separate secretary and possibly an associate secretary in the West, whose duty it should be to study the records of the various ministers and churches, to receive confidential requests from ministers or churches desiring a change, and to give such confidential advice as might be applicable in the circumstances. Such secretaries should be freed from all other administrative duties and regard as their sole mission the best possible placement, under the circumstances, of available men. If for this post a man could be found with a knowledge of personnel methods as well as an intimate understanding of pastoral life, ministerial psychology and the idiosyncrasies of congregations, he could render a tremendous service.

As it is, the serious aspects of the situation threaten to grow still more serious unless promptly met. The board of pensions has estimated from its records, that since Union (1925-1931), the United Church received into the active ministry from all sources, 454 men; in the same period it has lost by withdrawals, superannuations or death, 625—or a net loss of 171, which constitutes an annual average net loss of 28. Yet there are still too many ministers, except in the West. The report on "Recruits for the Ministry" presented to the General Council in 1932 indicated:

> "More ordinands could have been placed in the West this year than were willing to go. Since the last report was made General Council action has made it easier for young men to return East if they wish to do so after a term of service in the West. Even this lure has not been sufficiently attractive to persuade many graduates to this service."[12]

In the period July 1, 1931, to June 30, 1932, fifty-five new entrants on the pension fund were left without a station. In many instances, however, this was done at the applicant's request, to enable the pursuit of graduate studies.

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[12] Agenda, Fifth General Council, p. 63.

Such conditions will undoubtedly dampen the enthusiasm of many young men who, after seven years of training for the ministry, find no open doors. If the church is unwilling under these conditions to allow the law of the survival of the fittest to operate, it is in danger of becoming the refuge of the inefficient. While no church today has probably a greater opportunity to call many and choose few than the United Church, it is inhibited by its constitution and social philosophy from the ruthless process of weeding. It can, of course, increase the standards of preliminary education for the ministry, but if it does this, there is a danger of making standards academic rather than vital.

In stressing the problem of the inefficients, it must not be assumed that the quality of the ministers in the United Church is low. On the contrary, the general standard of ability is high. Indeed, it is rather notorious that not a few of the thirty-five or forty ministers that have left the United Church and entered the continuing Canadian Presbyterian Church have been men whom the United Church could not satisfactorily place.[13] On the other hand, there are a few instances where good men who have, directly or indirectly, applied to the United Church for admittance, and could not be placed because of the alleged surplus, have thereupon applied to and been received by the continuing Presbyterian Church. An unfortunate fact in the whole aftermath of the union controversy was that while the United Church acquired a surplus of ministers, the continuing Presbyterian Church found it difficult to secure sufficient ministers to man their churches left pastorless by the resignation of unionist ministers. Some were brought from Scotland and Australia, others were found in the United States; still others drifted into the Presbyterian ministry from other denominations, with the somewhat amusing sequel that churches which refused to jeopardize their Presbyterianism by entering the Union are now served by Baptist ministers.[14] Some of these men were excellent and have done splendid service; others, selected without proper scrutiny, have been forced to leave the ministry under the shadow of scandal. Even today, there are many fields in the continuing Presbyterian Church unprovided for, while the United Church does not know how to place its surplus.

Meanwhile, from the hinterland, comes a frequent cry for the equalization of ministers' salaries. Thus, the church is urged herself to experiment in the type of Christian socialism which she sometimes offers gratuitously to the business world. The General Council of 1930 responded to memorials from three presbyteries urging such equalization, by appointing a special committee to report in 1932. This committee, in finding itself unable to support any such recommendation, urges six reasons:

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[13] Others of course were unquestionably good men who simply felt themselves more at home under the Presbyterian system.

[14] This is the case in the famous little church at Saltsprings, over which the legal difficulty arose which was carried to the Privy Council.

> (1) Because of the difficulty, which seems to them insuperable, of equating salaries where so many factors, personal, family, congregational, social and economic, are involved.
>
> (2) Because the exceptional generosity of a few congregations to their ministers has a strong influence in raising the scale of salaries in the whole area.
>
> (3) Because any attempt at pooling would encourage those congregations now deficient in a sense of responsibility for the support of their ministers, to depend on wealthier congregations. No system that discourages a sense of local responsibility is likely to produce eventual good results.
>
> (4) Because in the end it would probably result in a scaling down of salaries all along the line. At first only the men more favored in salary arrangements would be reduced, but the reduction here would eventually be a strong influence towards reduction everywhere. A high maximum has a tendency to lift all stipends towards its own level.
>
> (5) Because it is likely that if direct generosity on the part of congregations towards their ministers is denied an outlet, indirect means would be resorted to which would soon produce much the same condition as prevails today.
>
> (6) What is here said with respect to ministers in charges which pay generously in comparison with the minimum stipend applies with equal force to officials. If the church deals more grudgingly than at present with these men who are carrying a very heavy burden of responsibility and whose salary, as officials, is now lower than it has been or would be as ministers of congregations, and much less than it would be in non-ministerial occupations, that saving will soon reflect itself in lowered salaries all along the line. In 1926 it was the deliberate judgment of the church that, considering responsibility, the necessary conditions under which their work has to be done, the added outlay incident to their constant travelling and absence from home, the spread between the minimum and the salaries then fixed was not unreasonable. While it is true that were the positions vacant, men could be found willing to accept the responsibility for much smaller salaries, the real question is whether such appointments would work out in the interest of the work. The present officials have not accepted the positions they occupy for any salary advantage they may seem to enjoy. At the same time they must be men of sufficient understanding to recognize that, if their work is to be done with satisfaction to themselves and the church, an expenditure considerably in excess of that provided for by the minimum salary is necessary.

In spite of this unwillingness to equalize salaries, the United Church reveals its Christian communism in the pension fund. Every minister received into the United Church today, either from other churches or by ordination, must join the pension fund and pay from 5 to 7 per cent. of his salary into that fund, up to a maximum payment of $500. Upon retirement, however, his annuity is based, not on the total sum of money to his credit by virtue of his aggregate payments, nor does it bear any relation to his previous standard of living, but it depends entirely on the number of years of his service to the church. The man who has been paying $120 a year may receive exactly the same retirement allowance as one who has paid $500 a year. Opinions differ as to the essential fairness of this arrangement, which is not optional, but compulsory.[15]

It may perhaps be proper to add in this section of the report a word concerning the final adjustment of the pension funds of the church. The pre-union conditions of these funds and the provisions in the "Basis" regarding them have already been described in chapter vi. Naturally, after Union, a certain sense of injustice was felt since some ministers had to pay assessments based on salary, others were on funds in which the members paid a flat rate, while still others were under no obligations whatever. Moreover, while ministers who entered the United Church from the three negotiating denominations were not required to belong to any one of the funds unless they so chose, all new ordinands were required to join the pension fund. Hence, an effort was made to lift as far as possible the membership of all funds to the highest level. Consequently, members in the less exacting funds were allowed to elect

> "to have the benefits payable to him or to his dependents increased in accord with those provided in the rules of the Methodist superannuation fund, in which event he shall thereafter pay the same rate as shall hereafter be payable by members of the superannuation fund in receipt of the same salary. At the time of making application for these increased benefits such member must submit evidence of good health satisfactory to the board. In the event of a lesser number of increased annual payments than eight being made, he or his dependents shall receive such proportion of the increase in benefits as the number of payments made bear to eight."

Some three hundred and seventeen ministers decided to avail themselves of this higher benefit, and when they have completed eight payments at the increased rate, they become available for the same benefits enjoyed by those who have belonged to the fund throughout their ministerial lives. This step has naturally increased the total liability of such funds, while it has also increased the annual income, and the actuary's report, presented to the Fifth General Council in 1932, evaluated the aggregate liabilities of the fund, present value, at $15,821,652. To balance this with adequate assets, the actuaries estimated that, in addition to all other probable sources of income, annual contributions from the missionary and maintenance fund of the church must average at least $483,163 for a period of thirty years.[16]

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[15] Of course, a wealthy congregation can pay its minister only a nominal salary, allowing a few people of means to make up the difference by a handsome purse at Christmas. In this way the minister may avoid paying excessive tribute to both the pension fund and the income tax department.

The relation of pension funds to any church-union movement might well prove a research project in itself, and any churches considering union would do well to emphasize the importance of such problems. The director can only offer his personal opinion that the vested interests represented by the equities of ministers in the various pension funds of the churches may prove the outstanding practical obstacle to the furtherance of the union movement. Any scheme of union would of necessity have to provide amply for the security of all equities held by ministers at the time of union; but after union was consummated, there would still be three important choices to make:

1. Should membership in the funds be compulsory or optional?
2. Should there be a definite relation between the annual payments made by a minister or on his behalf and the benefits promised, or should the ideals of the United Church in respect to Christian communism prevail?
3. Should the major annual income of these funds be secured from a first, fixed and definite charge upon the general missionary givings of the churches, or should the funds be endowed at the outset with a capital, the income from which, added to the annual payments made by the ministers, would be sufficient to make the fund independent of any fluctuations in the loyalty and interest of the congregations?

Although the United Church has committed itself to a compulsory pension system for its ministry, it has not been able to set a definite age at which retirement is expected, except for officers of the General Council. The fundamental reason for this failure is also inherent in the Basis of Union, which states categorically that "the pastoral relation shall be without a time limit." This was interpreted by the Fifth General Council as prohibiting the church from setting any definite retirement age for men employed in the actual pastorate and implying that it is a matter for the minister and his congregation alone to decide. The same Council, however, did fix the retirement age of the general officers of the church at seventy, subject to a possible reappointment on a two-thirds vote of the Council itself.

There would seem to be two fundamental principles underlying the creation of a pension fund; one aims to protect the aged ministers and their dependents against the want which may follow long but ill-paid years of service; the other would protect the individual church against the unpleasant necessity of seeking the retirement of one whose usefulness was done, without being forced to make adequate provision for his future maintenance. The complete operation of this second principle would carry with it the necessity for a fixed retirement age, but the United Church has not found it possible to secure it, partly because the majority of the commissioners to the General Council are themselves men of maturity whose views on a compulsory retirement age change as they grow older. It should perhaps be pointed out that in the past Canada has lost to the United States many ambitious young men who have felt that there was too great a tendency in the Dominion for the older men to "hang on to positions" and who believed that in the United States there was not only a greater variety of opportunity but also a greater tendency to seek out promising youth and to place the maximum responsibility upon it. A more conservative tendency, with its positive benefits and its dangers, prevails in Canada, and in the ultimate readjustment of this problem, some fundamental consideration needs to be given not only to the deductions from the general principles underlying the creation of a pension fund, but also to the comparative deficiency of first-class opportunities that confronts the young man in Canada. Hope deferred may render some prospective leaders spiritually moribund at forty.

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[16] The receipts from this source in 1931 amounted to $320,000.

4. The Departmental Reorganization of the Church

Few more complicated problems confronted the United Church than that involved in the departmental reorganization of the church, and no more difficult question challenges the research worker than the evaluation of the effects of such reorganization. The general situation may well be considered in its two major aspects:

(a) The administrative readjustments as affected; the causes and philosophy which conditioned this readjustment. (This is relatively simple).

(b) The appraisal of the economies, if any, effected in such readjustment. The difficulties at this point are all but insuperable, due in turn to (1) the problem of deciding whether a certain item of expense might be legitimately considered as "overhead" or not. Some of these difficulties will be mentioned later; (2) the variety of methods of accounting used by the nearly thirty boards and departments of the three denominations prior to Union, rendering it almost impossible to secure under fixed categories the actual aggregates of items of expense.

The basic facts may first be stated. Although the Basis of Union set forth quite clearly the general lines of the organization of the United Church, it left a great many details to be worked out after the consummation of Union, and hence it was not possible to put the proposed changes into effect the moment Union was consummated. As a result, for the first year after Union, the various denominational organizations retained for the most part their respective identities and administered their own funds. The former home missionary interests of the Congregationalists were served by the Canadian Congregational Missionary Society; those of the Presbyterian Church in Canada by its Board of Home Missions; those of the Methodist Church by its General Board of Missions. This was also true of the other departments. This meant that practically all the officers connected with the former boards were retained in the newly created church for at least the first year, with the exception of certain home missionary superintendents in the Presbyterian Church who had voted non-concurrence, and certain other officials who were given some additional duties or had reached the retirement age. During this time, there was not only no substantial reduction of expense whatever, but certain new departments had to be carried, such as the bureau on literature and information and the important committee on Law and Legislation, the work of which was rendered most important by the effects of the church union struggle.

This year's grace was highly necessary, since during this period of far-reaching and fateful reorganization, it was better that some men on the field should continue to deal directly, as far as possible, with the "chiefs" at headquarters whom they already knew, and who, in turn, knew both them and their particular fields. Any sudden readjustment would have thrown intolerable burdens upon both headquarters and the field. Moreover, since the consummation of Union was bound to raise countless questions of procedure and administrative policy, it was imperative that the men who had previously borne administrative responsibilities in the former denominations should be near at hand and able to sit in at the wide variety of conferences and consultations in which the new methodology was being evolved.

The First General Council, however, had already taken steps to secure the inevitable reorganization. It had appointed a large commission to take the matter under consideration, and the commission was, by order of the Council, subdivided into four parts: (1) Colleges and Higher Education; (2) Benevolent Funds; (3) Publishing Interests of the churches; (4) Other departments of church work. It is interesting to note that the fourth sub-commission alone had to consolidate the work of no less than twenty-seven boards, societies or committees. Further instructions to the commission were as follows:

> "That the commissions be authorized to secure expert advice, and that all Boards be requested to consider and report to the commissioners the matters affecting their department;
>
> "That each Department of the uniting churches shall appoint a representative, who shall be a corresponding member of the commission that considers the work of said Department;

"That the commissions, before completing their final reports, are hereby authorized to meet at the same time and place, for conference in regard to matters of common interest;

"That the commissions be requested to forward copies of their reports to the Executive Committee of the General Council for its information before the next meeting of the General Council."

This commission obeyed its instructions and the consideration of its report and recommendations formed the major item on the agenda of the Second General Council at Montreal, in 1926. In substance, the Council decided to consolidate the work of no less than twenty-nine boards in eight boards, as follows: Education; Evangelism and Social Service; Foreign Missions; Home Missions; Pensions; Publications; Religious Education; Women's Missionary Society. In addition it provided the machinery for the General Council itself, which required not only a Moderator, but a salaried General Secretary, a salaried Treasurer and Deputy Treasurer, an Executive Committee, a Finance Committee, a consolidated method of financing through the Missionary and Maintenance Fund Committee (originally called the Missionary and Extension Fund) with its corollary, the Committee on Literature, Publicity and Missionary Education, all under the direct jurisdiction of the Executive Council, and a few other standing committees, e.g., Law and Legislation, Worship and Ritual, Architecture, Historical Matters, etc.

While the consolidation thus effected was certainly in the interests of efficiency and devised on a sound philosophy of administration, it did not necessarily suggest a greater economy in overhead expense, and the same General Council that approved the reorganization of the departments passed a resolution ordering

"that the Executive Council of the General Council be requested to prepare a statement on the administrative and other overhead expenses of the Church, making a clear distinction between what is strictly administrative and what is educational work and to give publicity to this statement throughout the Church."

The reasons for this solicitude are obvious. There was, in the effort to develop a strong central administration, a danger that there would be no real reduction in the number of secretaries and there always seems to be a deep-rooted suspicion of extravagance at G. H. Q. What is more, not all the boards that had been consolidated had paid executives, but the boards created by the United Church usually had several. For the most part, the responsibilities at the time required a large staff. Further, there was the desire to include on the executives of each of the boards, representatives of the various denominational interests concerned. Then, too, there was the existing surplus of ministers created, as already mentioned, by the consolidations effected and by the fact that more Presbyterian ministers than churches entered Union. Here again the administrative principle that the church should place every effective man deterred it from using the guillotine even when certain official "heads" might have been deemed superfluous. It was felt that to turn executives of mature years, who had served their respective denominations faithfully for long terms of office, out into the cold when the active pastorate was filled could not be defended as consonant with Christian ethics.

The chances for economy, however, faced another difficulty. In the consolidation of church boards, attention had to be paid to the standardization and equalization of the salaries of officials. Some of the denominations were accustomed to pay the heads of their departments less than others, but any standardization following church union is apt to result in setting the standard at the highest level rather than at an intermediate level. Thus, the prevailing tendency was not only to retain nearly all the secretaries, but on the whole to increase the average salary.[17] It must be stated frankly that these officials, prior to Union, were paid too little, and since Union their renumeration is most modest compared with the executive officials of American churches similarly strong.[18] Undoubtedly the optimism which greeted the consummation of Union encouraged entertainment of the faith that it would be quite possible to pay such salaries in view of the general benefits that would follow in the wake of Union.

The large plant of the Methodist Publishing House in Toronto became the headquarters of the various administrative boards, and to this extent rentals were thus paid to organizations within the church. This kept certain of the revenues in the "family," and to that extent was good business.

On the whole, however, extravagance was feared, and from that time to the present pressure has been exerted on the church to find ways and means of economizing. At the last General Council, a motion was made, later withdrawn, that the salaries of church officials be reduced to that of the minimum in the pastorate, $1,800 with a house allowance, which was quite impracticable for residence in Toronto.[19] The depression has of course accentuated the demand for economy, especially as the immediate effect of the union was a campaign on a nation-wide front for more funds for church purposes, congregational and denominational.

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[17] As pointed out later in this chapter, there was a reduction of seven salaried secretaries in the three years immediately following Union. These reductions are, for the most part, accounted for by withdrawal of two former Presbyterian home missionary secretaries to the non-concurring churches, superannuation and death.

[18] The senior secretary receives $3,000 a year and a house allowance of $1,500.

[19] It should be intimated that no executive of the United Church today receives as high a salary as that paid to one of the officials by the continuing Presbyterian Church.

There is, however, a very real danger that the membership of the United Church will, in the demands for economy, seek further consolidations of boards when such amalgamations may be administratively unsound. At the Fifth General Council at Hamilton, in the interests of economy, the board of education was consolidated with the board of religious education, and a further suggestion to consolidate the board of evangelism and social service with the board of home missions was also referred *simpliciter* to the executive committee for further consideration. These two steps indicate the dangerous tendency of approaching problems of administrative readjustments from the standpoint of economy rather than from that of efficiency or of a sound philosophy. There is, to be sure, much to be said for the amalgamation of the boards of education and religious education and in the end such a union might prove highly beneficial; but in the present state of affairs, an executive official might quite suitably be the liaison officer between the universities, colleges and secondary schools conducted by the church and the church itself, and yet be utterly uncreative in the work of producing implements of religious and Christian culture in the Sunday schools. The reverse of this situation might be equally true. Nevertheless, to this consolidation the United Church has committed itself, and the success of the scheme would seem to be entirely contingent upon its ability to find the man who combines in himself the two types of skill. Again, it does not require much insight to see that the proper place for the board of evangelism and social service is under the board of religious education, since only a sound educational procedure can ultimately create the new social orientation desired. Except for the administration of certain agencies such as hospitals, settlement-houses, etc., the work of the board of home missions is essentially of a different character from that of the board of evangelism and social service, and calls for administrative officials and board members of a different temperament and perhaps even of a different mentality.

It would seem to the outside observer that the United Church has, in the administration of her boards, built up on the whole an admirable machinery for the purpose, and a machinery which should not be imperilled by the indiscriminate tossing of monkey-wrenches, even in times of depression, in the alleged interests of economy. The financial experts are often, as modern civilization knows too well, the last men in the world to whom to look for guidance in philosophy. Some of the departments are, perhaps, too highly staffed, and further adjustments might quite properly be made in the interests of both efficiency and economy, but today there exists a certain heckling of headquarters on the part of members of the church who do not understand the intricacy of the problems which it must adjust. This is not conducive to the best interests of the church at large.

In general, one might say that in its administrative readjustment the United Church has secured efficiency, but no marked economy. The Executive, in obeying the instructions of the General Council of 1926, prepared a statement showing that prior to Union the administration had required a total of 61½ salaried secretaries, with aggregate salaries of $211,494; that in May, 1928, there were only 54½ salaried secretaries, with aggregate salaries of $205,714; that in 1931, there were only 45½ salaried officers receiving aggregate salaries of approximately $171,000. It will thus be seen that there has been a substantial reduction of sixteen in salaried officers and of $40,000 a year in salaries since Union.

This, of course, is only part of the story, for after all, administrative expenses cover more than salaries of secretaries; there are also office staff, office rent and equipment, printing, etc., and especially traveling expenses. Here it is difficult to secure authentic and absolutely accurate figures dealing with both pre-union and post-union conditions. The following figures, however, approximately represent the overhead expense of the three denominations in the quadrennium 1918-1922, excluding the expenses connected with the raising of the various Forward Movement funds of the time:[20]

Congregational Church	$40,000
Methodist Church	970,000
Presbyterian Church	675,000
Total	$1,685,000*

* The Treasurer of the United Church writes on this point: "In the treatment of administrative expenses, there is much that is fair and meritorious. The figures submitted will bear more careful scrutiny than is at present possible. The whole discussion will prove inconclusive to those familiar with church finances, unless there is incorporated a clear-cut classification of administrative and other overhead expenses." The director of the study has not felt himself able to accept certain subtle and somewhat arbitrary distinctions in overhead between administration, promotion and field work, and believes that for practical purposes, the figures given are approximately accurate.

In these tabulations certain items have been omitted which some might perhaps insist on including in any estimate of overhead expense, e.g., the interest on overdrafts required to finance the church as a result of the dilatoriness of local church treasurers in sending in their benevolent givings to the proper authorities. These figures for the quadrennium indicate that prior to Union the annual aggregate cost of administration and promotion was approximately $421,000. It must, however, be remembered that while this was the average for four years, the annual totals indicate that the cost of administration was advancing rapidly each year on account of certain post-war conditions which will be readily appreciated.

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[20] Of course, administrative expenses of conferences, synods, district meetings and presbyteries, etc., are not included.

It might consequently be assumed that had there been no union, the annual cost of administration might have increased in the quadrennium 1922-1926 perhaps 20 per cent. This, of course, is problematical.

If the report of the Treasurer of the United Church for the year ending 1931 is scrutinized, it appears that the administrative and other overhead expenses of the church for that year were approximately $435,000, excluding an item of $75,000 interest on overdrafts. This expense was incurred in a year of almost unprecedented depression.

It would, therefore, be fair to say that the administrative expense of the United Church at the present time is substantially the same as the average annual administrative expense of the three churches in the quadrennium 1918-1922. If, however, we view the church situation in the large, it is necessary to remember that the continuing Presbyterian Church at the present time also spends approximately $100,000 a year in administrative expenses. Consequently, if we compare the annual average of the aggregate administrative expense of the three churches, 1918-1922, with the aggregate administrative expense of the United Church and the continuing Presbyterian Church in 1931, we find that there has been a net increase in the ten years of approximately $110,000, or about 25 per cent.

In fairness to all concerned, certain facts need only be stated to be appreciated:

(1) Church union or no church union, administrative expenses were bound to expand after 1922. They were rapidly increasing between 1918 and 1922 in the respective denominations, and it is probable that this increase would have continued at least until 1929.

(2) The normal growth of all Canadian churches commensurate with a growth in population of at least 17 per cent. in the decade would have inevitably meant general increase in givings, in church work and in administrative expenses generally.

(3) The United Church of Canada can not be held responsible for the $100,000 required by the continuing Presbyterian Church for its administrative expenses.

It should also be pointed out that the total amount raised in 1931 for the missionary and maintenance fund of the United Church was $2,405,326.

CHAPTER XIV

Relations of the United Church to Other Churches

One of the first matters to come before the First General Council appertained to the relation of the United Church to other churches. In a few instances certain autonomous congregations, most of them community churches, took advantage of the actual consummation of Union to apply directly to the First General Council for admission to the United Church. The American Presbyterian Church, Montreal, which had never been a part of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, but was, rather, a member of the Presbytery of New York, was also received at this time into the membership of The United Church of Canada, special provision for property adjustments in this case being made in the Quebec legislation. Under ordinary circumstances such applications for admission would have to be made to the presbytery in which such church was located. On June 10, 1925, however, presbyteries had not been constituted and their bounds had not been defined; hence the direct appeal to the General Council.

The relations of the United Church to other churches might in general be considered under three major heads:

1. The relation of The United Church of Canada to Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Oecumenical organizations with their several branches.
2. The effect of the Union on coöperative interdenominational work.
3. General relations to all other denominations.

1. The Relation of the United Church to Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Oecumenical Organizations

Even prior to the consummation of Union, the question of the relationship of the proposed United Church to the Oecumenical Methodist Conference, the International Congregational Council and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System had been considered in meetings of the Joint Committee. The inclusion of the United Church in all three world organizations was greatly desired for the purpose not alone of thus stressing the continuity of the United Church with the former Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches, but also of maintaining a world fellowship on the broadest possible basis. Indeed, some of the critics of the organic union had lamented that after Union The United Church of Canada would not be able to experience the fellowship with the world organizations that each of the three churches had enjoyed before the Union.

Further, Canadians had contributed in a very peculiar way to the formation of these world-wide organizations of denominations. As already indicated in chapter ii, the First Lambeth Conference of 1867 was largely called on the initiative of the Provincial Synod of Canada, although it seems that the first suggestion for such a conference was made in 1851 by Bishop Hopkins of Vermont. In 1865 the Provincial Synod of Canada was troubled by political difficulties involved in the transition of its church in Canada from a church dominated by the Crown to a "free church" with conciliar government, and in its uncertainty it was urged by Bishop Lewis to appeal for the formation of an oecumenical council of all churches in communion with the Church of England.

The Provincial Synod, therefore, successfully appealed in this year to the Archbishop of Canterbury to take steps to summon such a council, which was eventually held for four days in 1867 in spite of the fact that much opposition arose in political and legal circles to its convocation. Since that date, as all the world knows, the Lambeth gatherings and their various manifestos have been of great significance to the whole of Christendom.

The first Lambeth Conference quickened the desire in other communions for organizations of a similar character, although possibly the Lambeth Conference was, from the very outset, an authoritative body, while in most of the other world-wide organizations which followed in its wake, the emphasis was rather on fellowship across international lines.[1] The Presbyterians were the first of such denominations to follow the Anglicans' lead and the agitation that led to the formation of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System arose largely in Scotland and the United States. Nevertheless, it is not without significance that the first meeting of the committee which formulated its plans for convoking a Presbyterian world-gathering was held in a New York church of which the minister at the time was a former Canadian, the Reverend

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[1] The Lambeth Conference could hardly inflict its decisions on all parts of the Anglican Church without their concurrent action; to this degree it may not be *authoritative* in a legal sense. In a deeper sense, however, the Lambeth Conference does seem to have a prestige greater than that of the other oecumenical bodies. Wilhelm Dibelius, in his volume on *England* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1930), makes this extraordinary comment on the Lambeth Conferences (page 346): "Increased energy has been put into the effort to bring world Protestantism together under Anglican leadership. A movement, like this, though absolutely disinterested in itself, would certainly have consequences of more than spiritual importance; it would provide Anglo-Saxon world dominion, resting hitherto on battleships and banking, with a spiritual basis which might prove far more effective than either of these."

Dr. Ormiston, who had been perhaps the foremost leader in creating the first Presbyterian Union of Canada in 1861.[2] Furthermore it must be remembered that the actual achievement of the integration of most of the Presbyterian Churches in Canada in 1875, following a certain disintegration in American Presbyterianism because of the intersectional difficulties created by events prior to and during the Civil War, provided an impetus to the hope that in some way Presbyterianism throughout the world could discover a common voice. The first meeting of this World Alliance took place in 1877.

In much the same way the formation of the first Oecumenical Methodist Conference, in 1881, followed closely on the consummation of the first great Methodist union in Canada in 1874, and on the eve of the second union in 1883. As both Canadian Presbyterians and Canadian Methodists were proving that the various branches of Presbyterianism and Methodism respectively could unite on a national basis, it is not without reason that one suspects their influence in the creation of their respective world-wide organizations. The movement for an International Congregational Council was clearly and undeniably initiated in Canada by a resolution of the Congregational Union in 1885, petitioning the British Congregationalists to canvass Congregational opinion in other parts of the world concerning the possibility of forming such a council. The British Congregationalists did so and received peculiar encouragement for such a movement in Australia. When, later, they had succeeded in obtaining the approval of American Congregationalists, the first International Congregational Council was called in London in 1891.

In view of these intimate relations to the various oecumenical organizations, one is not surprised to read in the minutes of the First General Council of The United Church of Canada, a resolution that applications be officially and formally made for membership in the three bodies. The decision was all the more urgent since the Alliance of Reformed Churches Throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System was to meet in the immediate future at Cardiff, Wales. In this way the negotiating churches carried the trinitarian formula of three-in-one and one-in-three a step further, and created for the world-wide organizations themselves some slight embarrassment as they were called upon to distinguish between the

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[2] Dr. William Gregg, the outstanding historian of Canadian Presbyterianism, said in a conference between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in 1893 that the union among the Presbyterian bodies was brought about in some such way as had been suggested in the 1893 negotiations; i.e., talking it over among private parties first or in small gatherings. Dr. Ormiston wrote a private letter to the Moderator which ultimately led to the introduction of the subject to the proper bodies and finally to the consummation of union. So too, he said, the union between the Synod of Ulster and the Secession synods had been inaugurated outside the organized body.

"persons" and the "substance." The question that these international bodies had to answer is quite obvious: Was the United Church a Reformed Body Holding the Presbyterian System? Was it a fellowship of Congregational Churches? Was it a Methodistical body? There was, to be sure, a certain amount of Presbyterianism, a certain amount of Methodism and a certain amount of Congregationalism in the United Church, and on the strength of this "dosage," the three oecumenical bodies admitted The United Church of Canada to membership.

Thus the bonds held, and whenever one of these organizations has met since 1925, The United Church of Canada has been present with a vigorous delegation. It further makes contributions to all three bodies. The maintenance of the fellowship and the indulgence in the oecumenical sentiment prove somewhat costly, but on the other hand, memberships provide an opportunity for unique and intimate contact with three of the major worldwide Protestant denominations. The United Church of Canada, in selecting its delegates to these organizations, does not choose exclusively only such persons as had, prior to 1925, been associated with the particular denomination concerned, but naturally the majority of the delegates are those who know most intimately the historic traditions and temper of the churches which constitute the particular alliance.

Membership in the three organizations also provides an opportunity for the United Church to testify to such benefits as have followed the actual consummation of Union in Canada, when the inevitable question of church union is considered.

One point, however, those who were promoting church union in Canada did not seriously consider until after 1925. They failed to take cognizance of the possibility that certain Presbyterian, Methodist or Congregational churches in other countries might doubt the validity of the orders of their ministry. A certain element of the Church of Scotland, in particular, has been inclined to question whether other denominations had surrounded the ordination of ministers with such safeguards as to make the ministry an expression of a truly Catholic theory. This defect was pointed out to the first Moderator of The United Church of Canada, Rev. George C. Pidgeon, D.D., on the eve of his departure for Scotland. In Scotland he found certain questioning of the validity of the orders held by some of the ministers in The United Church of Canada, and on his return from Scotland a committee was appointed to prepare a statement concerning ordination to the ministry which was essentially an argument *ad hominem* (and specifically *ad ecclesiam scotianam*) for such as needed it. The statement, as finally approved, was issued in a book of some 263 pages, wherein the whole question of ordination in the three denominations is considered in great historic detail, and the conclusions are set forth:

1. That the existing ministry of The United Church of Canada is a true ministry of the Church of God, and
2. That those ordained by The United Church of Canada have a true ministry in the Church of God.[8]

Those who had formulated the Basis of Union had not considered in detail the conditions under which men might be received into the ministry of the United Church from other Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches in the world. This was covered later by a specific reference in the *Manual,* according to which such ministers, like all others, must make their application through a presbytery to a conference, and the presbytery must first satisfy itself as to "the validity of the credentials presented, the educational standing and the ministerial efficiency of the applicant." After doing this, the presbytery must not only forward the application, together with its own recommendation in the matter, to the conference, but also notify each presbytery of the church of such an application in sufficient time to permit the registration of any caveats and the imparting of any information which might render the reception of such a minister inadvisable. The *Manual* further says that

> "a minister applying for admission to the ministry of The United Church of Canada from a church having membership in the International Congregational Council, The Ecumenical Conference of the Methodist Church, or the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System, may be received on the following conditions:
>
> (i) That he present proper credentials of full ministerial standing in the church from which he comes.
>
> (ii) That he satisfy the educational requirements of The United Church of Canada.
>
> (iii) That he express his willingness to conform to the government and usages of this church."

In general, it may be said that such ministers constitute a preferred class, but the routine for their admission, however formal, is identical with that required for the admission of ministers from any other church. Since Union, some important Canadian pulpits have been filled by "imported" ministers. In general, however, The United Church of Canada has such a surplus of ministers that it tends to discourage importations of all kinds.

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[8] The chairman of the committee which prepared this statement was Professor John T. McNeill, now professor of the History of European Christianity in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, and the author of *Unitive Protestantism.*

One detriment to the free exchange of ministers is inherent in the compulsory character of the pension fund. For the most part, the only ministers of other Congregational, Methodist or Presbyterian churches in various parts of the world that will in all probability be approaching The United Church of Canada in the near future for admission, will be men who have already achieved some reputation, are at the heights of their powers and have been invited by some particular church. If these ministers have already been connected with a pension fund in the church from which they have come, such membership will either cease or be suspended upon their transfer to the Canadian church. Here, however, they will be required to join the pension fund of the United Church, and to pay regularly to it. They must contribute from 5 per cent. to 7 per cent. of their salary, according to their age at entrance, and the church at large must contribute through the missionary and maintenance fund from 7 per cent. to 18.19 per cent. or a total of from 12 per cent. to 25.19 per cent.[4] On retirement, however, their benefits will be determined not on the amount of the funds paid in to their credit, but more arbitrarily on the number of years of service in the church in Canada. For example, if a minister enters The United Church of Canada from without the United Church at the age of forty-five and receives for the next twenty years an average salary of $6,000 a year, he must pay into the pension fund $300 a year and the missionary and maintenance fund of the church must pay into the fund $420 a year. If at the end of twenty years of service, he finds it desirable to retire, he will receive as pension only $20 a year for each year of service, or a total of $400 a year. Of course, the dues cover other benefits, both for himself and his dependents; but it is clear that for the more highly paid men, the requirements of the fund are greater than the benefits.

2. The Effect on Coöperative Work

Another resolution passed by the First General Council established a committee on coöperation to act for the church in any possible cases of coöperation in home-mission work that might arise. Few, if any, outstanding opportunities for such coöperation have, however, been presented. The bitterness of the controversy with the non-concurring congregations made any immediate coöperation between the United Church and the continuing Presbyterian Church all but unthinkable. For a few years after 1925, resolutions introduced in the annual meetings of the General Assembly and reaffirming the readiness of the church to coöperate failed to carry. In 1930 an overture from the United Church to consider possible methods of coöperation was received, and an arrangement was made for a meeting of the representatives of the two groups to canvass the situation. There developed, however, a certain intransigeance among some members of the Presbyterian committee when it was reported that the United Church would not yield on the matter of the legal continuity of that church with the former Presbyterian Church in Canada, and the meeting proved fruitless. Since then the feeling has been improving, but little in a positive way has been done.

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[4] This latter percentage is for entrants at age 65.

Even prior to Union, the Anglicans and the Baptists were inhibited from coöperation in the actual "churching" of Canada by various reservations of a doctrinal character, and of course such reservations were not removed in 1925. Hence there was little that could be done in this field. Those who would coöperate had united, and in a sense the period of coöperation had passed.

Unfortunately, sufficient attention has never been given to the reply of the Baptists to the overtures in 1910, when they declined to enter into any scheme of coöperation except among non-English-speaking settlers. On the whole, this was construed as an adverse attitude, when much might have been gained had the leaders in the movement exhausted the possibilities of coördinating the work among the non-Anglo-Saxons. Denominational rivalry in work for Hungarians, Ukrainians, French-Canadians and Chinese still nullifies much of the effort, and there is real need of a re-study of the whole situation and the development not only of a common program but also of a common philosophy. The Anglicans have at this point a very distinctive contribution to make, especially in relation to groups whose national churches are part of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and there is much to be said for an effort to distribute the responsibility for work with the non-English-speaking people among the various denominations on the basis of aptitude.

Canadians generally do not seem to have learned much from the land of "the melting pot" in regard to the dangers of a divided front in respect to all activities carried on among the more recent immigrants, and unless a more constructive policy is discovered soon, certain opportunities will have gone by forever. The possibilities of coöperation with the Lutherans in respect to Finnish people and with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in respect to the Ukrainians would seem to be the most obvious and imperative necessities. Of course it takes two to coöperate, but the attempt at least should be made.

A rather sinister aspect of the situation may be witnessed in developments in work for the Ukrainians. After the War, one of the brilliant Ukrainian leaders conceived the alluring scheme of returning, under the United Church, to the Ukraine and neighboring states and conducting a campaign along evangelical lines. His activities, however, created irritation among Lutherans of German extraction, and at the request of the central committee on the Relief of the Protestant Churches in Europe, he was recalled. Upon his return to Canada, however, he applied to the continuing Presbyterian Church for a similar commission and was accepted by them. The Presbyterian Church may not have been cognizant at the time that his recall had been asked by European Protestants, but at all events the episode reveals the post-union weakness in coöperative arrangements and the grave dangers encountered in the effort to secure suitable and reliable leaders from the group which the church seeks to serve. Meanwhile, in Canada, the Catholic Church looks upon the Ukrainian group as potential recruits,[5] especially as many of them are already connected with the Uniat Church, and the Ukrainians, confronted by the various efforts of the Catholics, Orthodox, United Church and Presbyterians to gain their allegiance, tend to play off one against the other, and under such circumstances, communist, anti-Christian and purely national organizations find their opportunity.

Again, a non-concurring missionary among the Chinese in British Columbia quite seriously affirmed that since the Chinese were the Scotsmen of the Orient and the Japanese were the Anglo-Saxons, it was appropriate that the work for the Chinese should be under purely Presbyterian auspices. Another non-concurrent stated frankly that in his opinion the Chinese work should be under the United Church, since most of the Chinese immigrants into Canada came from that part of China where the United Church was the only Canadian church at work, and such a condition made them more able to find the workers and the literature which the work among the Chinese in Canada required. Without expressing any opinion on the essential Calvinism of the Chinese mind, one may still insist that a divided Protestant front in this situation is futile and costly.

In a few sporadic communities, the United Church and the Baptists have discovered ways and means of carrying on their work under joint auspices. An attempt at coöperation has been made at Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, between a very small Presbyterian congregation with a centrally located church and no minister, and a very small Anglican congregation with a less imposing church but with a minister. The coöperation itself, however, has its significance only as a possible beginning, and even here the difficulties, real or imaginary, have seemed so complicated that one has reason to doubt the possibilities of similar coöperation if the situation were to be reversed and an Anglican congregation were to be served by a Presbyterian minister. During the depression, the Government of Ontario engaged in some extensive road-building operations in New Ontario and this meant the establishment of many camps in isolated places. On the invitation of the government, various denominational representatives came together, formed a temporary organization and agreed to a certain delimitation of territory for chaplains serving the camps. In this way, a significant start has been made. In general, however, it may be said that Canada needs a Home Missions Council of its own which may explore the possibilities of coöperation in religious work among the immigrant races and in the scattered mining, lumbering and construction camps in the Dominion.

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[5] See *Catholic Action* (1927), by George Thomas Daly, pp. 38–39, etc.

In other respects, the consummation of Union seriously complicated all coöperative effort, although it is an exaggeration to say, as some aver, that it destroyed coöperation. The reasons for this outcome were, in the main, threefold:

(1) The United Church became so large in comparison with other churches that it overshadowed all the rest put together.

(2) The coöperative churches had, for the most part, actually united. Before Union, most Anglican and Baptist coöperation had been qualified and restrained. Such qualification and restraint were temporarily accentuated in the presence of a church as predominating as The United Church.

(3) There was a tendency on the part of the non-concurring congregations to withdraw from many coöperative enterprises.

One may also note a condition which almost inevitably follows church union on a significant scale. The churches that have not been parties to the union are placed to a certain extent on the defensive and more or less required to justify their policy of non-participation. In doing this, they invariably tend to underscore their denominational idiosyncrasies and to accent those things which, in their opinion, require their separate existence. This, in itself, is not conducive to coöperation.

To be more specific, one need only mention certain types of situations which arose.

(1) The claim of the non-concurring Presbyterians to be the "Presbyterian Church in Canada" created several embarrassing situations. On one occasion the Bible Society was holding its annual meeting in Toronto and announced on its printed program an address by a certain speaker, who represented "The Presbyterian Church in Canada." The matter was considered by a committee of the United Church and it was decided that, since a principle was at stake, the Moderator should not attend the meeting.

(2) When the controversy was at its height, a number of the interdenominational organizations found it expedient for the time being to select Anglicans and Baptists, who would not themselves be parties to the existing conflict, as members of the various directorates and to the more responsible positions.

(3) The church formed by the non-concurring congregations has not to this day established any affiliation with the Social Service Council of Canada, although the most notable development of that organization was during the secretariat of a former Presbyterian.

(4) Difficulties have also been encountered in various agencies of social reform, such as the temperance organizations. Perhaps these difficulties were inevitable, union or no union. It will be recalled, for example, that the Province of Ontario abandoned prohibition and assumed the governmental control of the liquor traffic the year after which church union was consummated. Whereupon the original issue of the Church versus the Liquor Traffic became less clearly defined than it was before Union. It has been contended by some that the preoccupation of the churches with their efforts to secure the legislation regarding church union was really responsible, in part at least, for the ability of the political leaders to abandon prohibition and introduce liquor control. Since then the prohibition forces have been engaged in an uphill fight. Not many Anglicans are, in all probability, enthusiastic in their support of prohibition, and the allegation that some of the opposition to church union in Presbyterian circles was inspired by anti-prohibitionists complicated the situation for all prohibitionists in either the United Church or the Presbyterian Church.[6] The question was inevitably divisive, and hence its discussion was not enthusiastically welcomed in local churches, although both the United Church and the continuing Presbyterian Church have continued to pass general resolutions confirming their previous position against the liquor traffic. Prohibitionist leaders lament a certain coldness to their appeal even in the United Church, and some of them attribute this frigidity to the fact that ministers selected under a system of "free call" must necessarily indulge the sensitivities of their congregations more than those appointed directly by a settlement committee. It need not be added, however, that in Canada, as elsewhere, many ministers who are the deliberate choices of their congregations, have been known to be anything but sensitive to the odd ideas of their parishioners. Perhaps, the real fact of the matter is that there has been some definite change of opinion in regard to the most suitable methods of handling the liquor traffic on the part of a considerable section of the church itself.

(5) The Missionary Education Movement in Canada, which had developed coöperatively a number of important and valuable mission-study textbooks, came to an end shortly after Union. The denominations now

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[6] It is the opinion of the director that the active support of non-concurrence by anti-prohibitionists has been exaggerated, except perhaps on the part of certain legislators. There are many ardent prohibitionists in the ranks of the continuing Presbyterian Church, but it is open to question whether that church would give a more than formal endorsement of prohibition. In a few outstanding churches, anti-prohibition sentiment is admitted.

prepare and publish their own material. At the same time the newly formed Canadian School of Missions has weathered the storm splendidly, and perhaps because of the personal moderation of its secretary, the Rev. J. Lovell Murray, D.D., has been able not only to keep the active coöperation of all the denominations but to develop a very aggressive program.

(6) In the general field of religious education, the coöperative agencies have been conscious of a certain inner tension. The difficulties here are manifold. In the western provinces, the United Church is so dominant that the provincial councils of religious education might almost be considered as subordinate agencies of that one church. In Regina and in Vancouver, the provincial councils of religious education share the offices of the superintendent of home missions of the United Church, and the executive secretaries in all four provinces receive their salaries directly from The United Church of Canada. In Ontario and in the Maritime provinces, the executive secretaries are Baptists, but the office of the Ontario Council is located in the United Church House in Toronto. The United Church has no desire to monopolize the work of these councils, but it is quite obvious that without the support of the United Church their work is impossible. Their activities are for the most part among United churchmen, and it is simply inevitable that the policies of the one should be determined by the other.

Again, the philosophy of religious education held by the Anglicans is somewhat different from that of the United Church, and emerges out of the philosophy of the church itself, with its sacramental emphasis and its solicitude for the validity of Orders. The Anglicans have a somewhat different attitude in regard to the organized club-work for boys and girls. Prior to Union the Council of Religious Education had emphasized as a standard work for boys an organization called Tuxis, an adaptation of the Boy Scout principles of tests and ranking which had been largely worked out by the boys' workers in the Canadian Y. M. C. A. A somewhat similar organization called The Canadian Girls in Training (C. G. I. T.) had also been developed at about the same time. The Anglicans, however, continue to show a preference for the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements, possibly because of their English origin, and their semi-military character. The continuing Presbyterian churches have also indicated a certain aversion to following the lead of the United Church in this matter, and there has been a tendency on their part to develop certain organizations of their own. The Order of the Burning Bush, for example, was introduced from Australia.

Baptist coöperation in religious education has been more general, and in the Maritime provinces, where the Baptists are in some respects one of the strongest denominations, the coöperation has been facilitated by their strength. There are, however, two factors that tend to restrict in part their complete coöperation. The first of these may be found in the delicate situation which has divided the Baptist churches of the Dominion themselves, and created a serious split between the ultra-fundamentalists and others. The Fundamentalist group will not even coöperate with their fellow Baptists. The second reason is in the slightly different philosophy of the relation of religious education to conversion and regeneration.

In general, the statistics of work carried on by the councils of religious education in the various provinces indicate that most of the actual coöperation secured is from United churches.

(7) What is true of the macrocosm is also true of the microcosm, and the general situation in communities reflects that in the Dominion at large. Most local coöperation in Canada originated in the ministers' meetings, and in the larger centres the consummation of Union has diminished the interest in the more inclusive organizations and intensified the interest in meetings for United Church ministers only. Before, as since, Union, Anglican ministers gave only a sporadic support to the general ministers' meetings, except in some few places, e.g., Halifax. In many towns, all religious workers were eligible to membership, including the Salvation Army leaders and certain of the more eccentric sectaries. The work was not such as to evoke any great enthusiasm or to enkindle fires, either intellectual or spiritual. The more outstanding leaders were bored, and it required but little to destroy whatever vestiges of loyalty and duty to the organization remained.

There seems to be some evidence that the general ministers' meetings which came through the throes of the controversy with the least damage were precisely those in which the Anglicans had been previously most interested, and where the objectives were less pragmatic and more directed towards intellectual and spiritual growth.[7] In most cases, however, the backbone of the organization was formed by the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational clergymen, and when the Union came, these men found it much simpler to discuss the matters that interested them most by forming their own United Church ministers' associations. The fact that in city after city, the non-concurrent minister kept aloof from the general ministers' meeting also lessened its importance.

Wherever Protestantism develops a certain strength through unity, the maintenance of coöperation for the sake of the few stragglers seems to cost more in the way of time and energy than it is actually worth.

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[7] The interest of the Archbishop of Nova Scotia, now the Primate of All Canada, has had not a little to do with the vitality of the organization in Halifax.

3. General Relations to All Other Denominations

The First General Council passed the following resolution:

> "That while rejoicing in the measure of Union so far accomplished, and reaffirming the conviction that Union is a duty whenever and wherever possible, The United Church of Canada, at this, the first meeting of its General Council, places on record its willingness and desire to enter into closer fellowship with other Evangelical Churches, with a view to hastening the day when Our Lord's Prayer may have its complete fulfillment, 'That they all may be one, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me.'"

The Council also appointed a standing committee of fifteen members on negotiations with other communions. Certain informal overtures had already been received from prominent representatives of one or two other denominations with a view to their incorporation in the United Church, notably the Christian churches and the Reformed Episcopal Church in Canada. Both of these bodies were small and the protracted negotiations that were carried on with them were in the main unsuccessful.

The Reformed Episcopal churches arose as a protest against certain repercussions of the Oxford Movement, and had preserved the liturgy of the Anglican Church almost intact, the most important alterations being the change of the word "priest" to "minister" in the rubrics. They had preserved the episcopate and seemed to desire to form an "imperium in imperio" within the United Church and under their own bishop. They wished to continue their own distinctive emphasis in worship, and possibly to be assigned some particular area in Canada which they could cultivate most intensively. Difficulties, however, emerged on the part of both negotiating churches. The relation of the Reformed Episcopal churches in Canada to the Reformed Episcopal churches in the United States and a certain natural conservatism cooled the first ardor of the members of that church, while, on the part of the United Church, the difficulties of a divided authority, on the one hand, and the possibilities of confusing diplomatic relations with the Church of England in Canada created hesitations. Had the Reformed Episcopal Church become an integral part of The United Church of Canada and preserved its identity as a unit, it might have received a special field in New Ontario, where the Anglican Church has been quite active and where the Anglican bishop, an Englishman, has been most uncompromisingly High Church. Had the United Church sent to this area a flying squadron accustomed to a liturgy derived almost word for word from the Book of Common Prayer, it might have increased the tension not only between the Church of England in Canada and itself, but also between the High and Low Church elements within Anglicanism. The negotiations with the Reformed Episcopal Church, therefore, broke down, but the bishop of that church resigned the episcopate and was received into the United Church as a minister, and is now the pastor of one of the large churches in Vancouver. It is interesting to note in this connection that while the United Church has been growing steadily more liturgical, the former bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church has, since his admission to the ministry of the United Church, practically abandoned liturgical forms.

The negotiations with the Christians also broke down, the opposition being largely led by the editor of a small paper circulated among the members of that denomination in Canada and edited in Syracuse, N. Y. In the end, the conference of the Church of Christ permitted any of the churches that wished to do so to enter the United Church, and the church at Oshawa took advantage of this permission. The Oshawa church was situated in the downtown district and now there are three United churches at the very centre of this small city, instead of two. It will be more possible, however, to make larger plans for districting Oshawa because of this accession. The Christians have not more than 1,000 members throughout the Dominion.

There have been no formal negotiations with the Anglicans, although a good deal has been done informally by certain Anglicans who are anxious to effect a better understanding and coöperation between the United Church and the Church of England, in the hope of creating what might properly be regarded as a National Protestant Church. This group has had, however, to walk warily for two reasons: first, the High Church wing of the church would repudiate the Protestant conception of the Church of England, and secondly, at the outset there was a general sympathy of Anglicans with non-concurrent Presbyterians, and in certain quarters a feeling that perhaps these two could work more harmoniously together than would be the case with the Anglicans and the United churchmen. Among the recommendations submitted to the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada by a national commission at its triennial meeting in 1931 was the following resolution:

> "That since in the sparsely settled parts of our country, the difficulty in reaching with any degree of regularity the scattered groups of our people is almost insurmountable, which difficulty extends to other Christian communions, we recommend that in the interests of the Christian Faith an advance be made to the authorities of the United Church and the Presbyterian Church with a view to discovering if some arrangement could be made for a more friendly coöperation with them in the matter of ministering to these small units, subject always to the principle being clearly indicated that we must administer the Sacraments to our people."

The recommendation was discussed with considerable feeling and the opponents, recognizing the unwisdom of defeating the resolution by a straight vote, followed the method of drawing its teeth by revision. As finally passed, it contained a clause aiming against any delimitation of territory whereby the Anglicans might have to keep out of some areas in return for special privileges in other areas; it also eliminated the specific reference to the United and Presbyterian churches and substituted "other Christian communions in the several localities concerned"; and after the words "an advance be made," the phrase was added, "through the Bishops of our Church," the effect of which may be gathered from an article in the *Algoma Missionary News,* which commented: "putting it up to the Bishops to take the first steps, which would mean that in many dioceses they would never be taken at all." A further amendment was added in the Upper House to this effect: "nor does it imply that we should in any way relax our efforts to afford spiritual ministration to all our people, however remote from our churches."

One must indicate, however, that there are possibilities of further negotiations between the Anglicans and the United Church created by a postponement, through mutual agreement, of overtures made by the Church of England in Canada itself, just before Union and following the Lambeth Conference in 1920. That conference had prepared an appeal to all Christian people relative to reunion. Section VI of this appeal included a revision of the famous earlier Lambeth Quadrilateral. Instead, however, of the blunt condition of "the historic episcopate" we find that the visible unity of the church involves "a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body." This last sentence received fuller explanation in a seventh section dealing with the episcopate itself, which, the bishops urged,

> "is now and will prove to be in the future the best instrument for maintaining the unity and continuity of the Church. But we greatly desire that the office of Bishop should be everywhere exercised in a representative and constitutional manner and more truly express all that ought to be involved for the life of the Christian family in the title of Father in God."

Section VIII of the appeal suggested that

> "terms of Union having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted, bishops and clergy of our communion would willingly accept from these authorities (that is, of other communions) a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations . . . It is our hope that the same motive would lead ministers who have not received it to accept a commission through an episcopal ordination as obtaining for them a ministry throughout the whole fellowship."

On the return of the bishops from Lambeth the Primate of all Canada sent, under instructions from the House of Bishops, to the heads of the various Canadian churches, a copy of this appeal and promised that after the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada had considered the report, he would forward a further communication.

The General Assembly of 1921, on hearing the appeal to all Christian people of the Lambeth Conference of the preceding year, expressed its joy and gratitude to the Primate and ordered its union committee "to confer with representatives of the Anglican Church in Canada and of any Church or Churches that may desire to enter into conference on the question of the Reunion of Christendom" and expressed the opinion that "in such conferences due regard be had to the largeness of the issues and the complexity of the questions involved and to the necessity of securing harmony of action throughout the Provinces of the Dominion."

The General Synod held its triennial meeting in Hamilton in October, 1921, adopted the Lambeth report on Reunion and passed the following resolutions:

> "That His Grace the Primate be requested to convey officially to the Heads or representative authorities of all the Christian Churches in Canada, Episcopal as well as Non-Episcopal, information concerning the action of this General Synod regarding the question of Christian Union.
>
> "And further that His Grace be requested to inform them that this General Synod has appointed a Committee to confer with similar committees appointed by the Authorities of any other Christian Communion in the Dominion upon lines that are in general harmony with the principles underlying 'The Appeal and Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference' and to assure our brethren of our most earnest hope and desire that they may find it possible to appoint such committees to meet with us in conference in order that the divisions of the Church may be ended and the wounds healed which at present cripple the body of Christ in its Life and Work of witness."

In accordance with these resolutions the Primate forwarded, under date of May 4, 1922, letters to the various churches which included the following paragraph:

> "It is needless for me to state that we are profoundly impressed with the supreme importance of following the lead of the Lambeth Conference in its endeavor to bring about union in our divided Christendom. Our hopes may not be realized at once and some of us may not live to see them realized, but let us work and pray towards the great end to which our Lord prayed, 'That we may all be one.' "

This correspondence was presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada at Winnipeg by its committee on church union on June 9, 1922. The same General Assembly also received a memorial which had been forwarded from the Presbytery of Montreal, reporting the results of a conference between a committee of the Presbytery of Montreal and a similar committee appointed by the Bishop of Montreal, in which the members of the committee made the proposal:

> "That each, while retaining his present position, should accept the ordination service of the other Church or whatever form of admission that Church should require, as conferring the Commission necessary for ministry in its communion, with the prefatory statement that on the part of those receiving such commission it is clearly understood that 'herein there is no repudiation of or reflection on their past ministry.'"

This committee of five Anglicans and five Presbyterians requested sanction of the authorities of their respective churches for such a commissioning, and the Presbytery of Montreal memorialized the General Assembly to regularize such procedure. The General Assembly directed that such regularization be referred to a special committee which might confer with a similar committee of the Anglican Church and report to the next General Assembly with instructions provided:

> "1. That such regularization involves no repudiation of or reflection on the ordained ministry of those desiring this authorization, and
>
> "2. That the ministers and congregations concerned be not subject to jurisdiction other than that of their own Church."

The Congregational Union considered the overtures at its meeting at Brantford, June, 1922. The special committee of the Methodist General Conference received the Primate's communications and passed resolutions which were approved by the General Conference in Toronto, October 13, 1922.

The official replies of the three bodies were as follows:

Congregational

> "That the Union acknowledges with pleasure the receipt of a communication from the Primate of the Church of England in Canada enclosing the invitation of the General Synod of that Church to confer on the subject of the re-union of Christendom upon lines in harmony with the principles underlying the Lambeth Appeal.
>
> "That we recognize the fine spirit of the Lambeth Appeal, its evident regret at the divided state of Christendom, and the desire in some way to turn the present discord into harmony.
>
> "We appreciate the eminent fitness of the present Primate of the Church of England in Canada to bring this matter to the attention of all other Christian bodies, because of his long service to the country and the kindly relationship he has always sustained toward his brethren of other communions.

"Inasmuch as we have for nearly twenty years been engaged in negotiating for union with the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in Canada and that these negotiations are apparently nearing completion, we would respectfully suggest that any further steps in the direction of a still larger unity should be postponed until these three churches can take action in a united body.

"Should, however, the other two Churches with which we are negotiating, see fit to appoint representatives for conference with the Committee of the Church of England in Canada, we authorize the Chairman and Secretary of this Union to appoint a similar Committee.

"It must be definitely stated, however, that any such Committee can enter into conference only on the understanding that they are in no way committed to all the conditions laid down in the Lambeth Appeal."

Methodist

"With regard to a yet wider and more inclusive union of churches, we recall the resolution of the Winnipeg General Conference in 1902, originally declaring itself 'in favor of a measure of organic unity wide enough to embrace all evangelical denominations in Canada' and which adopted the present negotiations as the most practicable step towards that end. We have noted the appeal of the Lambeth Conference to all Christian people, and record our appreciation of the sincerity and depth of Christian feeling therein expressed. We recognize that this appeal indicates a solemn realization of the responsibility resting upon all Christian communions to express the unity of the spirit in one body, as well as righteousness in life. We respectfully record our experience that the most fruitful results of such negotiations have been found when the bodies concerned are untrammelled by pre-established formula. We are of the opinion that in intimate and sympathetic consideration the spirit common to all would find an expression more adequate than can be provided by the proposals of any one communion. We believe our Church would welcome such a development of Christian fellowship and intercourse between the Church of England and ourselves as would not delay the consummation of the union now pending, but would prepare the way for a more inclusive union."

Presbyterian

"The General Assembly expresses its warm appreciation of the Christian courtesy of His Grace in communicating to the General Assembly the action of the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada anent the matter of Christian Union:

"Cordially reciprocates the sentiments of the General Synod and of His Grace the Primate in regard to this all important question;

"Pledges hearty and cordial coöperation in all wise efforts to further the cause of Christian Union in Canada; and

"Instructs its Union Committee to appoint a Sub-Committee charged with the duty of negotiating with similar Committees of other Churches seeking to confer upon the question of Christian Re-Union in Canada upon lines that are

> in general harmony with the principles laid down in the Appeal and Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference, and to arrange in consultation with those similar Committees all necessary details as to time, place and conditions of a conference to be held as soon as convenient.
>
> "The General Assembly further assures His Grace the Primate, and through Him, the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada, of its most earnest desire and prayer that the Spirit of God may so order the minds and move the hearts of all true believers in our Lord Jesus Christ that soon the sad divisions that now separate God's people from one another may disappear and all true lovers of our blessed Lord be united in faith and in service for the glory of God and for the well-being of our land and of the world."

The Primate sought to secure a meeting with the representatives of the Presbyterian Church, but the appointment of these had been left to its church union committee, which hesitated to make the appointment until after final arrangements had taken place between the three negotiating churches. Naturally the three churches felt that any negotiations with the Anglicans should be carried on by them jointly rather than esverally; otherwise unfortunate suspicion of the ultimate objective of these negotiations might ensue. When the Primate was apprised of this attitude he wrote:

> "My own view is that it will be better for us to defer any further action until the negotiations between your Church and the other two have resulted in something final and definite. I have always felt that it was quite a delicate matter for our Church to intervene while these other negotiations were going on, but, under the findings of the Lambeth Conference, we had to do something,—hence the action I have already taken."

The Joint Committee, however, of the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches appointed to confer with the Committee of the Church of England in Canada regarding Church Union held a meeting at the Bloor Street Presbyterian Church, April 23, 1923, at which the following resolution was moved by Sir Robert Falconer, seconded by the Rev. S. D. Chown, D.D., and carried:

> "That this Committee express their gratification at the invitation extended by His Grace and cordially recommend that conversations be initiated as soon as may be convenient for the consideration of the widest possible measure of Christian Unity, more particularly as it relates to the Dominion of Canada."

This resolution was communicated to the Primate, who replied that he hoped to take counsel with the leaders of his church in Calgary in September, by which time "we may hope that the final outcome of the present negotiations between your three churches will be decided."

In September, however, the fires of controversy following the decision of the General Assembly at Port Arthur were flaming higher than ever and the whole matter was allowed to drop.

Some interpreted the original move of the General Synod as a *bona fide* overture consonant with the decision of the Lambeth Conference; others suspected it as an attempt to mediate in the controversy between the unionists and the non-concurrents; still others were afraid that it was an astute move to sidetrack the effort to consolidate the strong Presbyterian and Methodist bodies by holding up to view the possibilities of an Anglican-Presbyterian rapprochement.

The actual consummation of Union in 1925 placed the whole situation possibly in a different light, but if the original overtures are to be regarded as a sincere and *bona fide* effort at Christian unity, there is every reason why the negotiations of 1921–1923 should be resumed. The Church of England and the United Church between them could create a church which might "fittingly be described as national." Such a union would do much to facilitate the work among non-Anglo-Saxons, while it would meet the needs of most immigrants to Canada from the United Kingdom. If it took place in the near future, it would enable a restudy of the problem of the city churches and the establishment of parochial boundaries in a way which might perhaps be deemed permanent. If it is postponed, it will only invite fresh community upheavals in the future. The Anglican Church is particularly fortunate in the distribution of its city edifices with regard to parochial responsibility, but in twenty-five years the United Church will probably have effected its own parochial redistribution, and union will then be seriously complicated by existing overlapping. On the other hand, the psychological and doctrinal difficulties in the way of such a union are too well known to require explication. Furthermore, the United Church has the rural areas covered, and in this respect will probably increase more and more, while it would seem almost inevitable that the Anglican Church must lose ground in the countryside. Some Anglicans believe that a solution may be discovered for Canada along the lines of the proposed scheme of union of certain churches in India.

So far as the other denominations are concerned, only a word is necessary. The strained relations of the United Church with the continuing Presbyterian Church have been complicated by the aftermath of bitterness, the claim of the continuing church to be the "Presbyterian Church in Canada" and by minor frictions in various localities. There is no doubt whatever that the law of the state on the matter is clear; the continuing Presbyterian Church is not the *de jure* heir of the former Presbyterian Church in Canada, which, legally, went into Union. There may be, however, something to be said for its claim to be the *de facto* successor.[8] There are, however, certain principles at stake the sacrifice of which, on the part of the United Church itself, might complicate the situation for any other churches in Christendom which sought to unite with other churches; and hence a deadlock exists. It is quite evident that while there may be circles of dissatisfaction within the United Church, there are similar circles in the continuing Presbyterian Church, and certain disagreements of a serious character are commonly known. The depression is forcing on all the churches in a very realistic manner the impotence of theories to overcome facts, and when the lessons have been mastered a rapprochement is probable.

The Baptists go their own way, more concerned with their inner difficulties than with their relations to other churches. In the Maritime provinces, the Baptist and United churches in the same locality quite commonly hold joint services in the summer time. With them, church union has tended to develop a denominational consciousness, but while they have strong and vigorous churches in the cities and eastern towns, their rural work, except in the Maritime provinces, is almost negligible. The Baptists do feel, however, that they have a real mission in stressing the personal religious life as opposed to the formal membership in any kind of "national" church, and it is this emphasis which provides a source of continued vitality. Their major task, however, is one of inner denominational integration.

While the census of 1931 gave the number of Lutherans in Canada as 394,052, the Canadian synods of the United Lutheran Church in America report 106 parishes with a total confirmed membership of only 29,000, and this represented a gain of 37 per cent. in the last two years. While the Lutherans were among the first to settle in Canada, they have still few churches and these with the exception of some in and around the city of Kitchener (formerly Berlin) are weak. Much of the recent immigration into Canada has, however, been from such Lutheran countries as Finland; but the Lutheran Church has not been strong enough to follow the immigrants where they have gone. It would seem fairly obvious that to hold their people they must seek financial help from outside the Dominion, and yet they cannot hope to operate successfully in a Canadian effort as an adjunct to an American church. Hence, at the recent convention of the United Lutheran Church in America, held at Philadelphia, the Canadian synods urged the formation of a separate church in Canada and their withdrawal was approved. Except in certain sporadic communities, no attempt has been made by The United Church of Canada to establish any definite coöperation with the Lutherans. Such coöperation might, however, be made more possible if communications could be carried on directly with a Canadian body.

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[8] Unless we regard their rejection of the authority of the General Assembly as a fundamental violation of Presbyterian government as set forth in the Westminster Confession, chapter xxxi, section iii; and also apply other tests inherent in the Confession, chapters xxv and xxvi. During the controversy the Unionists openly criticized the position of the non-concurrents as being more akin to Congregationalism than to Presbyterianism.

There is an Evangelical Association of Canada, largely among persons of German descent, with which the former Methodist Church always maintained a close relationship. In spite of certain negotiations, however, the Methodist and Evangelical churches never united, nor have there been any open negotiations between the United Church and the Evangelical Church.[9] Certain German Congregational churches in the prairie provinces entered the United Church in 1925.

It will thus be seen that the United Church has not as yet successfully prosecuted negotiations for union with any of the other denominations, and there are grave doubts whether any further union, except with the Anglicans, would really issue in any positive economies, national or local. Other unions might facilitate the work with certain racial groups, and enlarge the fellowship, but in the end the burden of the financing must fall upon the church whose membership already makes it the predominant Protestant group in the Dominion.

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[9] The pension fund constitutes one of the difficulties.

CHAPTER XV

The Growth of the United Church

Under normal circumstances religious statistics in Canada offer the student many opportunities of developing interesting correlations. There is, for instance, no civil marriage in the Dominion and all marriages are performed by the clergymen of recognized denominations. This is, in part, a heritage of the control of marriage by the Established Church in England and in part due to the necessity of bestowing a similar authority on the Roman Catholic priesthood after the cession of Canada in 1759. Applicants for marriage licenses are also required to state their religious preferences, and consequently any one that wishes to do so can easily discover the degree of intermarriage existing in the Dominion, where at the present time approximately 70,000 marriages are contracted annually.

Again, in the Province of Quebec, civil status is determined in part upon the registration of baptisms, and here a clergyman who officiates at a baptism must not only make the proper record in the church books but must also fill in forms in each case and transmit the same to a civil official who acts as Registrar of Baptisms. The maintenance of so strange a custom in a country in which Church and State are supposedly separate is probably due to the fact that in this particular province, the educational system, while supported from public taxation, is in the hands of two boards, one Catholic and the other Protestant, and to a certain degree the allocation of the public money may be determined on baptismal records. If a Catholic in Quebec wishes to change his religion, and to that degree modify his civil status, he must send an open adjuration of the Catholic faith to the bishop of his diocese. One cannot even violate a traffic law in the Dominion, or be summoned to court on any misdemeanor, without giving his religious affiliation, if any.

Every immigrant into Canada is also required to state his religious preference, and the names of those that state a preference for denominations which regularly employ immigration chaplains are given to the chaplain in question. Thus, it is possible to know the expectancy of increase in any denominational body as a result of immigration. Finally, at each decennial census of the Dominion, questions are included regarding the religious preferences of the members of each family. Comparatively few residents of the Dominion refuse to indicate some denominational preference. In the last census of 1931 only 16,143 out of a total population of 10,376,786 failed to give any religious preference. Naturally many people who display very little interest in the active life of the churches, continue to inscribe themselves as Anglicans or United Churchmen or Presbyterians, etc. Nevertheless, these figures do furnish a fairly accurate index to the potential constituencies of any given denomination, and to this degree they are more accurate than statistics obtained directly from the churches themselves.

DENOMINATIONAL STATISTICS

The statistics furnished by various denominations in their year-books are of course of variable accuracy in certain particulars; but it is possible to establish interesting ratios between the reported membership of a given denomination and its Dominion-wide constituency as indicated in the decennial census reports. These correlations furnish, at least in part, a clue to the ability of the denomination in question to seek out and enlist the support of those who potentially belong to it. One might, for instance, compare the United Church with the Church of England in Canada in this respect. The Dominion Census of 1931 indicated that approximately 20 per cent. of the population, or 2,016,897 persons, made up the constituency of the United Church; the United Church membership for the year 1931, as published in its year-book, excluding all statistics for Newfoundland and Bermuda, was 657,219: the Dominion census gave the Anglican constituency as 1,653,321, but such official statistics of the Church of England in Canada as are available show that in 1930 not more than 806,201 were on the parish rolls, that 325,575 were confirmed persons, and that 257,091 were actual communicants.

In the course of this chapter will be found such summaries from the official reports of the United Church and the continuing Presbyterian Church as throw light on the general growth and vitality of the churches most concerned in the union movement.

Unfortunately, however, church union has complicated the whole matter of religious statistics, both those issued by the government and those issued by the churches. Consequently, such statistics as are available are not self-revealing, and to an unusual extent they require detailed analysis and considerable modification, too often only corrected by estimates, to warrant even an approximate validity. Without such analysis, all statistics for the period 1925–1932 are apt to be peculiarly misleading, and those who will not take the trouble to penetrate beneath them may prove from them almost anything they wish.

The difficulty with the government statistics is quite obvious. Prior to Union members of the three denominations which formed The United Church of Canada were repeatedly told that they would carry with them all the perquisites of their former denomination—what was Presbyterian should be Presbyterian still. The result was that after the Union many of the Presbyterians who had entered the United Church continued to call themselves Presbyterians, and certain of the municipal censuses taken between 1925 and 1930 seemed to indicate that the continuing Presbyterians had kept practically all the former strength of the Presbyterian Church in Canada out of the Union. Such figures inevitably led to a good deal of controversy, and officials of the United Church realized that complications would inevitably develop during the decennial census of 1931, unless specific inquiries were made of all claiming to be Presbyterian as to whether they habitually attended the United Church or the continuing Presbyterian Church. The government accordingly instructed all census-takers to make such inquiries and to see that their records conformed with the results thereof. At the same time, the United Church, through its ministers and by various propagandist measures, urged all its adherents to designate their religious preference, not as Congregational, Methodist or Presbyterian, but as United Church. In this way the dangers which they anticipated, while not entirely eliminated, were perhaps reduced to a minimum. At the same time it is quite patent that a considerable number of persons, when they apply for marriage licenses, still inscribe themselves as Presbyterians, although they may really be members of the United Church, and so the marriage statistics since 1925 are invalidated to that extent.

An even greater danger, however, emerges in the statistics of church-membership as provided by the churches themselves. These difficulties are twofold:

1. Before Union the Methodist churches gave resident and non-resident membership. On the other hand, the Presbyterian churches reported only (supposedly) active members, while the habitual absentees were usually relegated to a reserve roll, so that the formalities in granting letters of demission could be speedily fulfilled. After Union, however, the United Church adopted the statistical method of reporting both resident and non-resident membership, and consequently a good many Presbyterian churches used their reserve roll as the basis for computing the non-resident membership which they now reported. Such a procedure obviously renders incomparable pre-union and post-union figures of membership unless necessary adjustments are effected.

2. During the vote, the Presbyterian Church in Canada was greatly shocked to discover, not only that a large proportion of the names on the

active membership roll were of persons who could not be located, but also that a great many people who had not come near the local church for years were induced by the electioneers to appear and demand a vote, and in some cases it was alleged that the actual disposition of the property had been determined by the manner in which these absentee members had recorded their vote. The result was that after Union practically every Presbyterian church immediately set to work to purge the rolls and to place on its active membership list only those who could be placed there in good faith. As is indicated below, a comparison of the aggregate membership of the three churches in 1925, before Union, with the aggregate membership of the United Church and the continuing Presbyterian Church at the end of the year, after Union, makes it indisputable that during the period some sixty thousand names were removed from the active or reserve rolls, without their removal being indicated in reports made to the churches concerned. Unless one appreciates this fact and bears it steadily in mind, he will be unable to understand later statistical developments within the United Church.

MEMBERSHIP

Against this general background and with these specific warnings, one may view the statistics of membership furnished by the churches.

Immediately prior to Union, in 1925, the memberships of the three denominations, excluding Newfoundland and Bermuda, were as follows:

	Active	Total
Congregationalists	12,586	12,586
Methodists	384,845	415,054
Presbyterians	379,762	(410,142)*
Total	777,193	837,782

* This figure has been reached by adding 8 per cent to the Presbyterian total in the first column, to make the Presbyterian and Methodist figures comparable, 8 per cent being the difference between the Methodists' active, or resident, membership and their total membership.

Had the entire Presbyterian Church gone into the Union and no radical purging of the rolls ensued, and had the newly formed United Church at once proceeded to gather its statistics on the basis of both resident and non-resident members (as it did), the membership would not have been less than 837,782. In addition, both the United Church and the continuing Presbyterian Church reported for 1925 an excess of accessions over removals as follows:

	Accessions	Removals	Excess of Accessions
United Church	70,103	69,851	252
Presbyterian Church	28,452	23,605	4,847
Aggregate excess of accessions			5,099

If this aggregate excess were added to the total memberships estimated above, we might properly anticipate a gross membership in the two churches for 1925 of 842,881. Instead, however, we discover that at the end of that year, the two churches reported the following membership:

United Church	609,729
Presbyterian Church	154,243
	763,972
Addition of 8% to Presbyterian figures to render them comparable	12,339
	776,311

It is plain that a large number of members have been removed and not reported, as follows:

Expectancy of gross membership for 1925	842,881
Actual membership reported or estimated	776,311
Difference	66,570

There is therefore good reason to believe that 66,570 names were dropped either from the active roll or from the names on the reserve roll of the Presbyterian churches, which would otherwise have been transferred to the non-resident membership list. It should be pointed out that the various consolidations of local churches that took place in the wake of Union accentuated the informal elimination of dead wood, and that this general house-cleaning was one of the immediate results of the church-union enterprise and was due to difficulties that had emerged in the voting. Like Gideon, the United Church, in its effort to secure a dependable legion, made drastic cuts in the personnel of the membership.

Sometime later former Methodist churches undertook a similar purging of the rolls and carried it through with equal zeal; but this came after a year or two. The "lost battalion" of 1925 was essentially Presbyterian.

From 1926 to 1931 it becomes somewhat simpler to read the membership statistics, although even then the net increase in the total membership both of the United Church and of the continuing Presbyterian Church seldom tallies in any particular year with the excess of total accessions over total removals claimed by either church for the same year. The statistician of the continuing Presbyterian Church, in his annual reports, repeatedly calls attention to these divergences. The variations, however, are relatively slight and one may assume that the figures given in Tables XXI and XXII are substantially correct.

TABLE XXI—MEMBERSHIP GAINS, BY YEARS, 1925–1931

	United Church				Presbyterian Church	
	Resident Membership	Increase over Previous Yr.	Total Membership	Increase over Previous Yr.	Total Membership	Increase over Previous Yr.
1925	(not given)	.....	609,729	.....	154,243	....
1926	592,565	.....	623,648	13,919	163,374	9,131
1927	596,140	3,575	636,755	13,107	172,518	9,144
1928	598,140	2,000	647,154	10,399	176,841	4,323
1929	595,178	—2,962	650,733	3,579	179,530	2,689
1930	607,280	12,102	662,253	11,520	180,680	1,150
1931	615,751	8,471	671,443	9,190	180,956	276

To determine, however, what further purging of the rolls may have taken place, it is necessary to compare the total number of accessions with the total number of removals reported by both communions as in Table XXII.

TABLE XXII—EXCESS OF ACCESSIONS, BY YEARS, 1925–1931

	United Church			Presbyterian Church		
	Accessions	Removals	Excess of Accessions	Accessions	Removals	Excess of Accessions
1925*	(70,103)	(69,851)	(252)	(28,452)	(23,605)	(4,847)
1926	58,099	45,417	12,682	21,761	9,942	11,819
1927	45,192	35,117	10,075	18,782	9,264	9,518
1928	56,131	45,732	10,399	16,122	9,425	6,697
1929	51,697	44,518	7,179	14,437	10,913	3,524
1930	53,358	41,838	11,520	13,910	11,172	2,738
1931	50,348	40,054	10,294	13,263	10,846	2,417
	314,825	252,676	62,149	98,275	61,562	36,713

* Figures for 1925 are given for information only and are not included in the totals, since excess of accessions for that year is included in the Total Membership for 1925 in Table XXI.

If the records of accessions and removals were strictly accurate, and the total memberships for 1925, as given in the 1926 year-books, be accepted as basic, then the total memberships in 1931 should be the 1925 figure plus the total excess of accessions over removals, thus:

United Church	Presbyterian Church
609,729	154,243
62,149	36,713
671,878	190,956

As given, however, the total membership of the United Church is 671,443 and that of the Presbyterian Church 180,956. In the former case, the discrepancy is one of only 435, but in the latter the discrepancy is 10,000. If one examines the figures for 1929 in the fourth column (Increase over Previous Year) of Table XXI and those in the third column (Excess of

Accessions) of Table XXII it is apparent that in 1929 the United Church dropped at least 3,600 names without reporting them. Comparing the figures for the same year in the second and fourth columns of Table XXI, it is equally apparent that several thousand names must have been transferred from the resident to the non-resident list. All this serves to indicate that the revision of the rolls, even if its results are not reported, continues within the United Church.

The discrepancy in the Presbyterian figures is more significant, and may perhaps be accounted for by unreported purgings of the roll, the deaths of small congregations and inaccurate reporting.

The general trends in both cases, however, are clear. In spite of drastic revisions since 1926, the United Church shows a fairly uniform increase in membership; its accessions average about 50,000 a year; the removals are steadily decreasing. In the Presbyterian Church, on the other hand, the accessions have been steadily declining and the removals fairly regularly increasing. Moreover, despite an excess of accessions over removals of 2,417 in 1931, the net increase in membership over the previous year is only 276. This seems to confirm the suggestion in the preceding paragraph that small congregations have simply been dropping out and turning in no report. Thus the gains are almost cancelled by the losses, and if this trend continues for two or three more years, the continuing Presbyterian Church will be registering a net loss instead of a slight gain.

Constituency

To discover the relative constituency of the two churches, it is necessary to go to the census records and also to certain figures, contained in church statistics, regarding those under pastoral care, number of families attached to each parish, Sunday-school enrolment, etc. It is also illuminating to compare, where possible, the total number of marriages, baptisms and burials reported by United Church ministers with marriages, births and deaths reported in the Dominion. To render the figures comparable, those figures relative to Newfoundland and Bermuda have been eliminated from Table XXIII, which accounts for discrepancies in the totals when compared with membership figures in Table XXI.

The census of 1931 gave the constituency of the United Church as 19.44 per cent. of the entire population, and the constituency of the Presbyterian Church as 8.39 per cent. When the United Church reports over four times the number of families, over three times the number of resident members and five times the Sunday-school enrolment claimed by the Presbyterian Church, it seems strange that the constituency of the United Church, according to the census, is less than two and one-half times as

TABLE XXIII—STRENGTH OF UNITED AND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, BY PROVINCES

Province (with population)	Adherents (Census, 1931)	Under Pastoral Care	Families	Resident Membership	Sunday-school Enrolment*
Prince Edward Island (88,038)					
United Church	21,979	19,882	4,796	6,954	5,828
Presbyterian	14,803	.....	1,768	2,933	1,734
Nova Scotia (521,846)					
United Church	110,528	87,085	21,931	33,717	30,220
Presbyterian	48,943	.....	7,030	11,411	5,988
New Brunswick (408,219)					
United Church	61,170	47,711	12,157	18,777	19,235
Presbyterian	16,257	.....	1,908	3,367	2,121
Quebec (2,874,255)					
United Church	88,200	81,704	21,929	34,692	28,732
Presbyterian	59,498	.....	8,093	15,763	8,340
Ontario (3,431,683)					
United Church	973,773	731,665	204,814	352,188	334,848
Presbyterian	450,577	.....	59,141	125,207	72,728
Manitoba (700,139)					
United Church	176,201	138,258	34,801	45,520	54,663
Presbyterian	55,690	.....	2,334	4,124	3,796
Saskatchewan (921,785)					
United Church	243,356	181,774	44,756	48,615	69,674
Presbyterian	67,943	.....	2,882	5,010	4,699
Alberta (731,605)					
United Church	176,588	124,604	31,743	30,310	45,554
Presbyterian	72,040	.....	3,861	5,985	5,422
British Columbia (694,263)					
United Church	164,656	120,442	30,448	31,003	41,029
Presbyterian	84,158	.....	3,609	6,202	5,806
Canada, including Yukon, N. W. T., etc. (10,376,786)					
United Church	2,016,897†	1,533,125	407,375	601,776	629,763
Presbyterian	870,482‡	.....	90,626	180,002	110,634

* The Sunday-school figures in this table are compiled from the reports of local churches direct to the churches involved; the figures on page 445 are furnished by their respective departments of religious education.

† 19.44 per cent. of total population.

‡ 8.39 per cent. of total population.

great as that of the Presbyterian Church. A discussion as to the significance of these figures has therefore ensued. In general, United churchmen have minimized the high proportion of people giving Presbyterian preferences on the ground that many adherents of the United Church have continued to call themselves Presbyterian out of long habit, in spite of the fact that steps were taken, as already indicated, to obviate any such eventualities. On the other hand, the Presbyterians have regarded the figures as vindicating their contention that a larger number of Presbyterians disapproved of the Union than actually voted against it, and that consequently the non-concurring churches were not awarded a fair share of the denominational property.[1] Both conclusions are, in the opinion of the director of this study, fallacious, and another explanation seems justified by the statistics.

In the first place, the constituency of the United Church, as indicated by the census, is considerably larger than the total number of persons under pastoral care reported by the United Church. In short, it is clear that there are approximately 500,000 persons in Canada who indicate a preference, if any, for the United Church, but who are unknown to its pastors and churches. Furthermore, this excess is distributed fairly evenly throughout the nine provinces, as a glance at the table indicates. The percentage of 19.44 is also confirmed by a reading of statistics in regard to deaths and marriages, in Table XXIV.

TABLE XXIV—DEATHS AND MARRIAGES IN CANADA, BY YEARS, 1925–1931

	Deaths			Marriages		
		Burials in United Church			By United Church	
	Total	Number	Per cent.	Total	Number	Per cent.
1925	98,777	19,684	19.9	64,644	15,057	23.3
1926	107,454	20,352	18.9	71,885	16,782	23.3
1927	105,292	16,248*	15.4	66,658	14,711*	22.1
1928	109,057	21,845	20.03	69,515	18,461	26.6
1929	113,515	22,386	19.7	74,311	18,908	25.4
1930	109,306	22,196	20.3	77,288	17,477	22.6
1931	......	20,994	...	71,657	16,465	22.9

* Nine months only.

The ratio of United Church funerals to total deaths is almost identical with that of the United Church constituency, indicated in the census, to the population as a whole; the ratio of marriages performed by United Church ministers to all marriages is somewhat higher for reasons which are more obvious when it is recalled that United Church ministers are to be found within easy reach of almost any community in the Dominion.

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[1] See article in *The Presbyterian Record*, October 1932, quoted in *The New York Times*, and in *The Presbyterian of the South*, October 19, 1932.

Further light is thrown upon the accuracy of the census figures, so far as the United Church is concerned, by comparing the ratio of church-members to adherents in the decennial censuses of 1891 to 1931.

TABLE XXV—MEMBERS AND ADHERENTS, BY DECENNIAL PERIODS, 1891–1931

	Congregational		Methodist		Presbyterian	
	Members	Adherents	Members	Adherents	Members	Adherents
1891	10,940	28,157	233,412	847,765	173,904	755,326
1901	10,000*	28,293	277,315	916,886	219,570	842,442
1911	12,084	34,054	337,627	1,079,892	295,935	1,115,324
1921	12,172	30,730	392,837	1,159,458	357,837	1,409,407
1931	United Church		657,219†	2,016,897	180,002	870,482

* Estimated.
† Members in Bermuda and Newfoundland deducted from total membership.

If we work out the average ratio of adherents to members in these three groups for the census years, we get the following results for the years prior to Union: Congregationalists, 2.67 to 1; Methodists, 3.23 to 1; Presbyterians, 3.95 to 1. After Union, the ratio for the United Church is 3.07 to 1, and for the continuing Presbyterian Church, 4.83 to 1.

The ratio of adherents to members in the present United Church is quite similar to that in the former Methodist Church, which is not surprising, as the methods of computing membership in both churches are identical and the larger part of the present United Church came from the Methodist Church. If anything, the ratio is slightly less in the case of the United Church, and to this extent there may be reason to believe that in a few cases people who attend that church continue to subscribe themselves as Presbyterians; but if some do, their number must be very small.

It will be observed that prior to Union the ratio of Presbyterian adherents to members was greater than that of the Methodists. In part, this is due to the fact, previously mentioned, that Methodists included both resident and non-resident members, while the Presbyterians only reported those whom they considered, however generously, as active members. There was in all probability, however, another reason. A good many immigrants from Scotland may have registered themselves as Presbyterians even as immigrants from England inscribe themselves as Church of England, on more or less conventional grounds.[2] Perhaps, too, the Methodists were either a trifle more urgent in seeking members, or less exacting in their demands upon applicants. At all events, it is obvious that the "periphery of indifference" among Presbyterian adherents was larger than that among Methodist adherents.

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[2] A further reason, put forward by a member of the coöperating committee in the United Church, was that "in Scottish communities, particularly of Highlanders, there was great reluctance on the part of many adults to come to the Lord's Table, or become members in full communion, even though they lived circumspect Christian lives."

So far as the Presbyterian figures are concerned, if the pre-union ratio of 1 member to 3.95 adherents had been sustained after the Union, 180,002 members would require 711,007 adherents. The census, however, reports 870,482 adherents, or an excess over any expected total of 159,475. The general ratio throughout the Dominion has increased from 3.95 to 1, to 4.83 to 1. In Ontario, however, where the controversy was hottest, the ratio is slightly under 3.6 to 1. In the other eastern provinces it approximates the general ratio, but in the West it varies from 12 to 1, to 14 to 1, and it was precisely in these provinces that the Union movement swept everything before it.

Turning to the ratio of adherents to families, the general Presbyterian ratio is 9.6 to 1 against a general United Church ratio of 4.9 to 1. In the western provinces, however, the Presbyterian ratio is more than 20 to 1, while that of the United Church has only risen to approximately 6 to 1.

It is quite clear, therefore, that the unexpected strength of Presbyterian adherents indicated in the census may be found in the West, where, prior to Union, the sentiment in favor of the consolidation of churches was most insistent and where the coöperation attempted was most thoroughgoing. How is this subsequent registration to be interpreted? Does it imply that, in spite of the overwhelming verdict in favor of Union in the West, there are still large numbers of non-concurrents in scattered places, too small to organize minority churches, but nevertheless resolved not to be considered as part of the constituency of the United Church? If so, have they withdrawn for the most part from all organized religious life until some congenial church is started to which they may give their support and their fealty? Some may wish to believe so, but there is a more simple explanation which the memory of the "lost battalion" of 1925 provides.

It must be remembered that church union in Canada was, in the last analysis, largely attempted in an effort to hold the West. It was felt that those who migrated westward would be lost to all active participation in church life unless the churches attempted some drastic measure to unify their forces. Those who went west found it too easy to leave their religion behind them. The isolation of the prairie farms, the deracination from the more settled customs of the East, the intensity of the economic struggle, all combined to weaken church ties. Many of the people lost interest in the church and became spiritually self-sufficient, if not indifferent. They failed to ask for their letters of demission, and their names were carried on the rolls of eastern churches for years. Then, after the consummation of Union in 1925, the Presbyterians who went into the United Church had a good reason for purging the rolls. As already indicated, some 60,000 names, mostly Presbyterian, were removed. These men and women—and of course in the West there is an excess of men over women—have probably married and reared families. They have little interest in church life. When, however, every ten years, the census-taker asks them for their religious preference, they recall far-off days and reply "Presbyterian."

If this hypothesis is correct, the "lost battalion" is in the western provinces, and their wanderings and indifference are a challenge to the United Church and to the continuing Presbyterian Church alike. The effort to reach them will be difficult enough for either body, but the United Church has the advantage that it is already on the spot. The continuing Presbyterian Church is not so fortunately situated, and the reasons that made coöperative effort necessary between 1902 and 1925 still exist. It is highly improbable that the "lost battalion" will, after years of practical indifference, suddenly acquire the benevolent temper that sacrifices greatly to build and maintain small churches. If they are to be reached, it will be by churches thoroughly organized, eager to reach them, and capable of appealing to their imaginations. Otherwise the "lost battalion" is irrevocably lost. It was to hold such that church union in Canada became a reality; the years alone will tell whether it will justify the high hopes in this respect that its proponents placed in it.

POSSIBILITIES OF GROWTH

The statistics regarding membership and constituency already given indicate a fairly healthy trend in the United Church.[8] What outstanding factors of a sociological character determine the possible or probable growth of the United Church in the next few years?

Economic Conditions

The growth of the United Church naturally depends in no small measure on the general development of Canada and on the economic future that will emerge for the Dominion out of the relative chaos that obtains while this report is being written. Potential resources and the fundamental necessities for a livelihood may be found in Canada, but the country faces an economic impasse unless either (a) markets are to be found for its immense surplus of grain, lumber, fish and minerals, or (b) an adequate population can be home-grown or imported to fill in this vast but most sparsely settled area. If either a greater population or larger markets are secured, the future of Canada is bright and the United Church stands to share in that prosperity.

Distribution

If Canada experiences a normal growth, the United Church is peculiarly fitted to cope with almost any situation that may arise because of its general distribution of churches and ministers. Except in the rural areas of Quebec and among the Eskimos in the far northland, it is omnipresent and reasonably accessible to all. Its churches, however unprepossessing some of them may be, dot the rural areas and may be found in practically every district in the cities. Consequently, it does not stand to lose from any notable migrations of the people within the Dominion itself, as is the undoubted fate of all small and less widely distributed denominations. Whether the drift continues from the farm to the city or from the East to the West, the United Church will not probably lose, and in the case of any westward migration it will gain.

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[8] See also Appendix, Tables 7 and 8.

Man-power

The United Church has an actual surplus of ministers, nearly all of whom have both university and seminary training. In spite of its policy in the settlement of ministers, a certain weeding-out of possible ineffectives is inevitable. The minimum salary is fairly high and the total amount of salary paid to United Church ministers from all sources has increased from $4,795,466 in 1925 to $5,225,971 in 1930. There was a slight decrease from this total in 1931, due to prevailing conditions, but even so it is yet above the 1925 figure. The man-power of the United Church is excellently distributed throughout the Dominion and this gives it a marked advantage. Those on the periphery of organized religious life obviously turn to United Church ministers, as the most readily available, for such functions as marriages and burials, and contacts are thus made which, properly used, may mean much. The facts concerning this distribution of man-power are clear. The United Church has 2,647 pastoral charges using the services of ordained men, and, in addition, 300 student fields which are worked by theological students for four months or more during the summer. In short, it has nearly 3,000 pastoral charges of all kinds, very few of which are without a minister, and whenever a vacancy occurs it is filled most expeditiously. In the Anglican Church there were, in 1930, only 1,365 clergymen actively engaged in parochial work. In the continuing Presbyterian Church there are only 711 ministers on Presbyterian rolls, including those on the appendix to the roll and five ministers of churches in Central India.

What is more, the eight theological seminaries of the United Church, while maintaining and steadily increasing their educational requirements, are graduating each year more men than the United Church can immediately absorb.

Youth

The United Church has succeeded as no other church in Canada in building up a Sunday-school enrolment which actually exceeds the total resident membership of the church. This has been the case consistently for every year since 1926. For 1931, the resident membership was given as 615,751, while the Sunday-school enrolment was 653,315. The Presbyterian membership for the same year was 180,956, with a Sunday-school enrolment of 111,500. Thus, while the membership of the United Church is approximately three and one-half times that of the continuing Presbyterian Church, its Sunday-school enrolment is five times that of the Presbyterian Church. Such figures seem to justify, at least in part, the frequent assertion that the non-concurrents represented on the whole an older group.

Figures for cradle rolls and infant baptisms give to the United Church a similar, though less marked advantage over the Presbyterians in the matter of youth, the ratio in favor of the United Church being slightly more than 4 to 1. In respect to those who join the church on profession of faith, the Presbyterians held a slight advantage for the years 1925, 1926 and 1927, but in 1931 the ratio in this respect (3.4) corresponded almost exactly with the membership ratio.

TABLE XXVI—INFANT BAPTISM, CRADLE ROLL AND RECEPTION OF MEMBERS BY PROFESSION OF FAITH, BY YEARS, 1926–1931

	Infant Baptism		Cradle Roll		Profession of Faith	
	United	Presbyterian	United	Presbyterian	United	Presbyterian
1926	.....	6,142	65,442	13,728	26,797	10,287
1927	22,552*	6,476	.....	14,364	20,100*	9,242
1928	27,076	6,537	63,197	15,073	27,699	8,229
1929	27,097	6,315	61,994	14,899	24,232	7,387
1930	27,444	6,301	61,093	15,042	26,271	6,989
1931	27,758	6,183	60,429	14,847	25,560	7,447

* Nine months only.

The United Church has also been repeatedly increasing the membership of its young people's societies until the total United Church enrolment in such societies in 1931 is over ten times the number claimed for the young people's societies of the continuing Presbyterian Church.

If youth is the church's second line of defense, the United Church has extraordinarily strong reserves.[4]

Financial Resources

To maintain its frontier churches, the United Church requires large financial resources, since only 1,300 of approximately 3,000 pastoral charges in the country are self-supporting, and the amounts paid for the augmentation of salaries inevitably run into a goodly sum each year. The comparison of the United Church and the Presbyterian figures in Table XXVII shows that in the matter of contributions the ratio for the two denominations corresponds fairly consistently with the membership ratio, that is, about three and one-half to one.

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[4] It is worth noting in this connection that a study of the annual death-rate of members of the United Church shows that the membership of that church represents an almost exact cross-section of the Canadian people, so far as age-groups are concerned. Using the "standard million" as a guide to a population analysis, it may be deduced that in 1928 the population in Canada over fourteen years of age was 6,690,560. In the same year the deaths in Canada of persons over fourteen years of age came to 76,812—a rate of 11.5 per thousand. The total membership of the United Church in that year was reported as 647,154. The loss of membership by death was 7,890—a rate of 12.2 per thousand.

TABLE XXVII—AMOUNT RAISED FROM CONGREGATIONS AND PARISHES FOR ALL PURPOSES, BY YEARS, 1926–1931

	United Church	Presbyterian
1926	$15,253,079	$4,139,722
1927	13,241,176*	4,472,089
1928	16,713,663	4,668,216
1929	16,831,717	4,467,615
1930	16,421,286	4,284,336
1931	14,302,154	3,909,209

* Nine months only.

Since Union the total value of the property held by local United churches has increased from approximately $77,000,000 to over $92,000,000. At the same time the debt has increased proportionately. This larger evaluation is all the more surprising since the properties of many churches which were consolidated have been practically given away or sold for an insignificant fraction of their replacement value. It is due to two things: first, a more uniform method of evaluating church property throughout the churches, and secondly, a very considerable amount of church building, especially in cities and towns, much of it occasioned by the necessities of the various types of consolidation referred to in chapter xi.

TABLE XXVIII—VALUE OF LOCAL CHURCH PROPERTY OF UNITED CHURCH, BY YEARS, 1925–1931

(Exclusive of all Denominational Property)

	Value	Debt
1925	$76,738,136	$7,108,780
1926	78,001,478	7,790,121
1927	85,254,934	8,230,861
1928	88,375,729	8,741,281
1929	90,670,095	8,448,660
1930	92,103,802	8,819,934
1931	92,734,983	8,898,833

No figures regarding the value of the property held by local congregations in the continuing Presbyterian Church or of the total debt thereon are available. The director of this study believes, as a result of somewhat intricate calculations, that an estimate of approximately $20,000,000 for value of property and between three and four million dollars for debts would not be very wide of the mark, but he confesses his inability to substantiate the estimate by statistically acceptable figures, and merely advances it for comparative purposes as a rough approximation.

Immigration

So far as one can see the only external danger to the future growth of the United Church lies in immigration tendencies. The following percentages show for five decennial censuses the relation of the aggregate constituency of the churches named to the total population:

Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian	
1891	34.75 per cent.
1901	33.28
1911	30.93
1921	29.58
United Church and Presbyterian	
1931	27.85

These percentages indicate a slight but steady decline, the reason for which may probably be found in the arrival in Canada of many thousands of immigrants from continental Europe.

Between April 1, 1925, and March 31, 1931, the total immigration into Canada might be classified roughly as follows:

United Kingdom	288,232
United States	150,377
Continental Europe, etc.	372,278
Total	810,887

The immigration from the United Kingdom was as follows:

English	147,865
Irish	47,527
Scotch	81,581
Welsh	11,259

Under normal circumstances, a large number of those from England are nominally Anglicans, but the former Methodist Church always profited largely from such immigration. The majority of the Scotch are Presbyterians, and naturally one might assume that any outstanding growth that the continuing Presbyterian Church may have will be conditioned largely by immigration from Scotland and the North of Ireland. Against this possibility, however, is the fact that the union of the Scottish churches in 1929 has predisposed the minds of many Scottish people to consider sympathetically the church-union movement in Canada.

The German immigration has in recent years been quite high, and of the total immigration from continental countries, 133,072 have come from countries dominantly Lutheran. Because of this immigration from Germany, Finland and Scandinavian countries, the total number of persons who registered as Lutherans increased from 286,458 in 1921 to 394,052 in 1931. In the decade, the percentage of Lutherans to the total population of the country has increased from 3.26 to 3.80. At the same time, the proportion of adherents of either Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic churches has increased from 1.93 per cent. to 2.57 per cent. This is largely due to the importance of the Ukrainian block to which an earlier reference has been made.

Thus, while the prevailing immigration into Canada is still predominantly of the type that can be readily assimilated by that part of the Canadian population represented in the United Church, the challenge of the non-Anglo-Saxon is growing in importance. Possibly the United Church confronts no more difficult task than that of discovering the best relationship possible to these new Canadians. The fact that they are, for the most part, to be found in relatively large numbers only in the western provinces accounts for the continued complacency of most of the people in the East to the real significance of the existing situation for the future development of the Dominion.

The Emergence of a New Loyalty

With the exception of the difficulties just described, there seems to be every opportunity before the United Church for continued growth. Attention, however, may be given in passing to a possible danger which the United Church faces in the loss of types of loyalty that had been developed by the constituting denominations.

A single illustration will suffice: the failure of the constituency of the United Church to give adequate support to the denominational weekly journal, *The New Outlook,* which, with the consummation of Union, took the place of three weeklies of the constituting denominations. Few will deny that in journalistic quality the present publication marks a great advance on the pre-Union journals. Nevertheless, it enjoys today only one-half of the joint circulation of its three predecessors. Some of this falling off is doubtless attributable to causes inherent in the general changes of recent years; but it may be doubted whether this is the whole story. Old loyalties are not always easily transferred. No church formed by the consolidation of a number of previously existing churches can hope to carry on merely on the strength of the impetus of ancient loyalties. While a certain amount of devotion is carried over from a pre-union régime to post-union institutions, nevertheless a newly formed United Church must create its own loyalties and stand to win or lose on the basis of its own intrinsic worth. This has undoubted disadvantages, but it also provides a background against which the true vitality of a church becomes apparent.

CHAPTER XVI

An Attempt at Evaluation

One is conscious of the fact that the statistical curves of growth and decline indicate the real vitality of a church no more than the total membership of the disciples in the upper room or their aggregate capital would provide the statistician of the year A. D. 30 with an adequate basis for sound prophecy. What is more, statistics of the church-union movement, at the best, are only approximately accurate. While it is difficult, without betraying the personal equation of the observer, to go further and to evaluate the church in some of its deeper aspects, such a danger may perhaps be minimized by an effort to set forth some of the distinctive tendencies of the United Church and to estimate the relative extent of their presence in the church. It need hardly be pointed out, however, that the director of the study assumes the entire responsibility for the evaluation attempted in this chapter.

INCLUSIVENESS

Church union is more than a method of the United Church; it is also a goal. Thus it is perhaps inevitable that the United Church, by its very genius, seeks a platform which will admit into the church the largest number possible and exclude the fewest. A testimony to the inclusiveness of the United Church may be discovered in the criticisms that are occasionally directed against it, for instance: "It admits anybody to membership"; "it emphasizes no doctrinal tests of any kind"; "the United Church has no consistent theology."

Within the United Church there are some who constantly urge a greater discipline for prospective church-members and a more scrupulous insistence on catechetical instructions for all applicants for membership, and who lament as the greatest weakness of the United Church its lack of a modern and consistent theology. On the other hand, such persons must reckon with the fact that one of the fundamental provisions in the Basis of Union, which the General Council itself cannot change, is that "no terms of admission to full membership shall be described other than those laid down in the New Testament." Such a provision may mean much or little; it sounds suspiciously like a Congregational emphasis,[1] and will probably insure the inherent liberality of the church, especially as the unionist element in the Presbyterian Church was forced, in repudiating the irrevocable authority of the Westminster Confession, to condemn the mortmain of any creed. Thus the group that favored Union really assumed a position against all creedal dictatorship not unlike that historically maintained by the Congregationalists, viz., the church makes the creed; the creed does not make the church.

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[1] Perhaps, a Presbyterian emphasis as well, although the Presbyterian insistence on subscription to the Westminster Confession for ministers, gave a slightly different coloration to the temper of the whole church.

There is also a Methodist flavor in the liberality of the United Church. While Canadian Methodists submitted all applicants for church-membership to a period of probation, their evangelical fire and the desire to bring into the church people from every station in life gave them also the temper of inclusiveness. Indeed, the Methodists were more willing to administer the rite of baptism to infant children of parents who had themselves made no open profession of Christ than were the Presbyterians.[2] One finds, then, in the United Church, a fusion of three tendencies towards inclusiveness—the inherited Congregational antipathy to creedal barriers and its insistence on intellectual freedom, the recoil of the Presbyterian unionists from the use of the Westminster Confession as the ultimate criterion of religious truth, and Methodist evangelicalism. All three of these tendencies are confirmed in the Basis of Union itself, which specifically prohibits any tests of membership other than those laid down in the New Testament.

It is thus inevitable that the United Church should not only be liberal in its outlook at the present moment, but must by its very nature remain so.[3] Its dangers may be, as some fear, the dangers that are inherent in all religious liberalism, but it possesses the strength that liberal churches of today possess, namely, an attractiveness for those who, while deeply religious, resent most creedal formulations as antiquated shackles on the intelligence and who insist on the spirit as opposed to the letter.

Perhaps because of this very inclusiveness, one finds in the leaders of the United Church an inherent willingness to explore the possibilities of better human relations with the rank and file of other religious groups, as, for example, the Jews. While the Anglicans and the Presbyterians have special missions to the Jews, the United Church makes no such separate effort.

On the other hand, a truly inclusive church must reckon not only with theological latitudinarianism but also with ethical tolerance. Here the situation is not so clear. The type of Puritanism which had included the footnote to paragraph 35 of the Methodist Book of Discipline, and would forbid

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[2] Another difference in emphasis became apparent after Union. In Methodist circles children of five years of age had sometimes been brought to the Holy Communion. This practice offended Presbyterian churchmanship, since the Presbyterians felt that no one should be encouraged to come to the communion service who did not have some definite conception of its significance.

[3] By liberal the author means an emphasis on *life,* as opposed to *doctrinal exactitude.*

"buying, selling or using intoxicating liquor as a beverage, dancing, playing at games of chance, encouraging lotteries, attending theatres, etc.," has to a great extent died out. Nevertheless, there is still an ardent group which interprets social reform in terms of personal morality and which, if it had its way, would disqualify a smoker as a fit man for the ministry. Perhaps the church as a whole would view with suspicion one who publicly espoused in its courts the cause of the government control of liquor traffic against the advocates of prohibition.

EMPHASIS ON WORSHIP

There is an obvious readiness on the part of the leaders of the church to respond heartily to any suggestion which would incorporate in its worship a truly catholic note. The return to ritualism is, of course, not the product of church union alone, but simply an expression in Canada of the prevailing tendency throughout Protestantism; but it has been accentuated and underscored in the United Church because of church union. Perhaps there is a tendency, when churches unite, to raise the standards of worship to those held by the more meticulous and not to lower them to those of the more "extemporaneous." This tendency in Canada may have been partly due to the fact that during the controversy some of the opposition to the Methodists, commonly expressed, was directed against their standards of worship, and after the Union the Methodist churches which absorbed unionist minorities from Presbyterian churches were quite willing to meet what were assumed to be the Presbyterian standards in this matter. Whatever the cause, a fairly general desire to establish high standards of worship followed in the wake of the Union.

Soon after Union, attention had to be paid not only to the preparation of a hymnal which might eventually replace the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational hymnbooks, but also to the compilation of a new "Book of Orders," which should have the recommendation of the entire church behind it and which might be used by such as cared to do so. Fortunately there were in the United Church men peculiarly fitted to produce both the hymnal and the book of orders. The Rev. Alexander MacMillan, the distinguished father of Canada's distinguished musician,[4] had spent most of his life in the study of hymnody. For forty years he has been a member of the committee on worship of either the former Presbyterian Church or of the United Church. The new "Hymnary," as it is officially termed, is in a large measure the reflection of the delicacy of his taste and his all but unprecedented knowledge of the texts, both musical and literary. Some may feel that the "Hymnary" is perhaps too esoteric and over the heads of a considerable section of the membership of the church, but every effort is being made today, not only to familiarize the body of the church with the beauties of the book, but also to lift the standard of appreciation of what constitutes worthy hymnody throughout the entire church. Great care was taken by the editorial committee to include hymns of a catholic nature, and especially those most characteristic of the three uniting denominations. The "Hymnary" has only been in use since January 1, 1931, but its reception by the church at large has been, for the most part, one of unqualified enthusiasm, and musical critics of the first rank have hailed it as an extraordinary achievement.

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[4] His son, Dr. Ernest MacMillan, was a musical prodigy. At a very early age he became an Associate of the Royal College of Organists. He went to Oxford to prosecute his musical studies and was attending the Wagnerian cycle at Bayreuth when the Great War broke out. He was imprisoned during the War, but spent much of his time in the camp conducting an orchestra among the prisoners, and in the preparation of musical compositions and theses for which Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Music. After the War, and still in his twenties, he returned to Canada and immediately took a leading place in the ranks of the musical world. He is now Conductor of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra and at the head of the Toronto Conservatory of Music. He assisted in the compilation of the Hymnary.

The "Book of Orders" has just been finally published at the time of the writing of this report. Consequently, it is impossible to say to what degree the ministers of the United Church will make use of these suggested forms. Here again, however, the United Church had placed at its disposal the experience and ripe scholarship of such men as Principal Richard Davidson and Dr. Hugh Mathieson, of Emmanuel College, both of whom are not only profound students of liturgiology but also possessed of rare reverence and excellent taste. In formally presenting the result of their labors to the Fifth General Council at Hamilton, Dr. Davidson, speaking on behalf of the committee, pointed out that the intention of the church and the committee was not to limit any cherished liberty of worship,[5] but rather to offer guidance and suggestion to those who were called upon to officiate at the central act of the church's corporate life, that is, worship. He accompanied his presentation with a warning, given in all reverence, "For the Lord's sake, do not use this unless you know how."

So, too, in architecture, one discovers within the United Church a growing respect for the more ancient traditions in church building. Of course, throughout the towns and villages, and especially in the rural areas, the majority of the churches were erected at a time when there were no standards, and consequently very many of these churches have been properly called by the committee on architecture, "blots on the landscape." For reasons which we have mentioned in the section of the report dealing with rural conditions, it will, in all probability, be a long time before such communities will be able to replace their present buildings with edifices more consonant with catholic ideas. But since 1925 the erection of nearly all new city and town churches has been characterized by a reversion not only to catholic lines in general, but more particularly to English and Scottish patterns. Once again this tendency is not exclusively the fruit of church union, but simply one aspect of the improved taste in Protestant circles. Nevertheless, in Canada, the church-union movement has accentuated this tendency, while the tradition of the Church of Scotland has also played a considerable part.

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[5] Such a limitation is definitely forbidden by the Basis of Union.

For the most part, all pipe organs are concealed and their gaudy pipes are no longer the focus of attention. The pulpit is placed on one side of the chancel, but curiously enough at this point there seems to be an unwillingness on the part of many of the churches to balance the pulpit with a lectern on the other side, and there seems to be no articulate philosophy behind such opposition. It may, perhaps, be due to an unwillingness to "ape the Anglicans" or to a feeling that the division of the service between pulpit and lectern requires possibly a dual ministry, or even to the unwillingness of the non-liturgically-minded to go more than half-way in the "reform" measures. At all events, one finds for the most part the pulpit balanced by the organ console (more or less concealed) or by a baptismal font. Again, while the holy table is placed in the centre and at the rear of the chancel, and is thus made the centre of the church's worship, the table is seldom placed against the wall, as in Anglican churches, but is brought forward a few feet,[6] thus permitting permanent stalls, often elaborately carved, for the officiating ministers and some of the elders, to be placed behind the table. In not a few of the churches the minister takes his place behind the table at the very beginning of the service and conducts much of the worship from that point, only going to the lectern, if there is one, for the reading of the Scriptures and to the pulpit for the sermon.

This tendency, it is alleged, is consonant with the Scottish tradition. The philosophy underlying such worship would seem to involve the concept of the church as a great fellowship of disciples, gathered around the table, the minister occupying the central position as the representative of Christ Himself. In other churches, however, the practice follows more exactly the Anglican procedure. It thus appears self-evident that in the leading city churches there is emerging (in spite of marked variations) a very definite philosophy of worship and a high-church interpretation of the function of the ministry, which, nevertheless, harmonizes quite readily with the democratic and evangelical nature of the three churches that constituted the United Church.

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[6] The Presbytery of Montreal recommends that it shall be at least five feet from the wall.

In regard to the development in architecture, one must also point out a marked growth in symbolism in The United Church of Canada. Perhaps a striking example of such use of symbolism may be found in the Westmount Park Church in Montreal. Here the ceiling of the chancel is divided into twenty-four panels; twelve panels on one side represent the traditional emblems of the twelve apostles, such as the Lion of St. Mark and the Eagle of St. John; on the other side the twelve panels reveal the traditional emblems of the twelve tribes of Israel. At the rear of the chancel is a magnificent tri-partite window representing the Trinity in an unusual arrangement, the figure of Christ being in the centre.

The Presbytery of Montreal has even gone so far as to issue two memoranda—the first on church design and the second on church decoration. In the second memorandum, a lengthy list is given of such symbols as are appropriate and it is recommended that "symbols not herein specifically mentioned should not be given prominence without consultation with the Committee on Architecture." These memoranda are highly valuable but they have never been authorized by the church as a whole. They do indicate, however, certain definite ideals towards which The United Church of Canada is striving.

Nationalization

It is no accident that out of a long list of names suggested to the Joint Committee preparing the Basis of Union, the one ultimately decided upon was "The United Church of Canada." Nor was it merely a vague sentiment that induced the formulators of the "Basis" to include at the very outset of that document the expectation that "this sentiment of unity may in due time, so far as Canada is concerned, take shape in a church which may fittingly be described as national." While Canadian nationality is still somewhat ill-defined, qualified by imperialist tendencies, and in general only parallels similar national movements in many other countries of the world, it is perhaps nourished most by a fixed resolve not to be absorbed by the culture and ideals of the great southern neighbor. It was precisely during the years when the church-union movement was under discussion, namely, in the first quarter of the twentieth century, that this resolution of the Canadian people took most definite form and after the War it was crowned by the full recognition of the self-governing status of the Dominion on the part of the Imperial Government. The two movements were at once contemporaneous and interactive.

Nevertheless, when one reads in the pronouncements of various church courts in Canada, resolutions beginning "Whereas the United Church is a national church," it is necessary to expound somewhat what is thus meant by "a national Church." Certainly not a "State Church" is implied, for if the three denominations that constitute the United Church have one outstanding tradition in common it is in the more than fifty years of militant opposition to the efforts of the Crown to bestow in Canada prerogatives on the Church of England similar to those provided in England. At the forefront of this opposition were the Methodists, and the United Church today has no intention of renouncing this tradition.

Nor can the United Church hope that the Christian churches in Canada may be so unified that in the near future there will be only one important church. The fundamental condition which would destroy any such illusion is the fact that 40 per cent. of the population of Canada is Roman Catholic. Indeed, if one wishes to visit communities in Canada in which church union is unqualifiedly in force, he must go to the villages of Quebec in which the power of Roman Catholicism is still demonstrated as perhaps nowhere else in the modern world. The leaders of the United Church have little expectation of accomplishing in their lifetime the integration in Canada of the Protestant and Catholic ideals.

Nor will The United Church of Canada do well to refer to itself as a "national church," no matter what is implied in the phrase, if such pronouncements are to be read by the clergy of the Church of England in Canada. The Church of England has not forgotten that it once had definite political recognition as the Established Church in Canada, and it still bears the scars that it received in its unsuccessful effort to maintain those privileges. It is still highly conscious of the fact that it is in direct communion with the church which is by law in England established, and it still receives for its bishops a certain precedence on state occasions. While its list of active communicants is barely one-half the membership list of the United Church, the number of people in the Dominion who give "Church of England" as their preference approximates the number of those who express their preference for the United Church.[7] Any assumption, therefore, on the part of the United Church that it is a national church undoubtedly invites criticism.

There is, however, in this claim a very definite ideal, since the United Church openly accepts its responsibilities for any group of people anywhere in the Dominion not already served by some other church. Possibly the idea of a national church towards which it is working resembles most the conception set forth in the recent pronouncements of the Church of Scotland, notably the "Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland in Matters Spiritual" (1921) in the third of which we read:

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[7] Census of 1931: United Church, 2,016,897; Anglicans, 1,635,321.

> "As a national Church representative of the Christian faith of the Scottish people it acknowledges this distinctive call of duty to bring the ordinances of religion to the people in every parish of Scotland through a territorial ministry."

The nationalism, therefore, of the United Church is not a nationalism based on privileges expected from the state, but rather created by a sense of responsibility to render a very definite and concrete service in the sphere of religion to people in every community throughout the state. One can only add at this point that outside the areas of French Canada in which Protestantism is practically non-existent, and the scattered settlements of the Eskimo in the great Northland, where the only Protestant communion at work is the Church of England, the United Church is fulfilling the obligation to offer "the ordinances of religion to the people of every community throughout the Dominion." While many Anglicans resent the representation of the United Church as a national church, not a few of its leaders are impressed by the possibility of a Canadian national church of this character, and to this end are working quietly to secure a greater coördination and coöperation, and perhaps union itself, between the United Church and the Church of England in Canada. Immediately after the consummation of Union, Anglican sympathies were, for the most part, with the continuing Presbyterians, but there has been a marked shift in such sympathies during the past seven years. One of the foremost Anglican scholars said frankly: "The United Church is the most vital church in the Dominion today."

At the same time, the United Church has been hampered in its aspiration to accept this distinctive call of duty to bring the ordinances of religion to every "parish" in Canada through a territorial ministry by the refusal of strong, self-supporting Presbyterian churches to enter the Union. With a restricted base, it must continue its operations on an undiminished frontier. This renders impossible any diminution in the givings of the people for mission purposes; in fact, they may be called upon to give more than they did before Union—depression or no depression. It is this consciousness of a national task which carries the whole missionary and maintenance fund of the church with it. In the opinion of the author the givings for foreign missions are today to a large extent made on the strength of the appeal for home missions. The loyal maintenance of this ideal of national service is requisite to the future success of the United Church.

There is still one other respect in which the United Church may truly be called a national church. It is seeking in all the literature which it publishes—books, Sunday-school quarterlies, papers for boys and girls and young people, etc.—an orientation which is not only Christian but also Canadian. As has already been pointed out, prior to church union, the

Canadian churches were to a large degree compelled to secure their lesson material for their Sunday schools in the United States, and when children repeatedly hear of the heroes of other countries and know little of the romantic past of their own country their spiritual life is impaired. A very real service to Canadian nationalism of the best kind has therefore been rendered by the United Church in providing in its educational material that distinctive orientation which the young Canadian needs.

Each country has its own peculiar problems—moral and social—and must in the last analysis make its own distinctive expression of the spirit of religion. The creation of The United Church of Canada has brought immeasurably nearer the realization of a Canadian expression of Christianity. Both the limitations and the values in that expression of religion will therefore reflect the present stage of development in Canadian culture. There is still a tendency to look to the United Kingdom for outstanding preachers and professors, who often come to Canada too late in life to free themselves from the entanglements with which the culture of the mother country has enmeshed them. Their contribution in the past has been vital, but more and more the real leadership must be assumed by the native-born who know, in their own blood, something of the cost at which the Dominion has been hewed out of the wilderness, and who can sympathize without reservation in those aspirations after an unhampered Canadian nationality. Canada is the only important country in the new world which still retains even the shadow of a colonial relationship to a European power, and while that nexus is important to her future development she belongs psychologically to the new world and not to the old. Her future is in the Western Hemisphere, and just as South American countries found it necessary to insist on a national priesthood, so Canada must give the fullest expression to her note of Canadian nationality by placing the native-born increasingly in all positions of spiritual leadership. She can afford nothing less.

SOCIALIZATION

While the social emphasis was not limited to any one of the three uniting denominations, it was perhaps put forward with the greatest intensity by the Methodist Church, which was the uncompromising foe of the liquor traffic and of various other social conditions which it considered evil. During the Great War and in the post-war period, the Department of Evangelism and Social Service of the Methodist Church took an advanced stand in demands for social justice and social reorganization. Both the genius of Methodism and the organization of the Methodist Church contributed to the vigor of its social gospel. Methodism arose in a period of social change in England, and expressed itself in a great solicitude for those whom the more established churches were ignoring. It is perhaps its interest in the wellbeing of the common man that has made the Methodist Church both in Canada and in the United States so fervent in its efforts at what it considers social reform. The more or less hierarchical government of the church also made possible a more fearless presentation of such social novelties as might be approved by the church authorities in the large, than could easily be given by ministers whose relation to their congregation was determined, not by the appointive authority of a stationing committee, but by the free contract of minister and congregation. Where the freedom of call exists, a minister who wishes to change the thinking of his people on any social problem must resort to the more intricate and delicate methods of education, or his resignation may be asked.

Since the Methodist Church constituted the larger part of the present United Church it was but natural that the new church should inherit to a very large degree the social emphasis of Canadian Methodism, but on the value of this note the United Church of Canada has a somewhat divided mind. As in other churches of Christendom, there are some leaders who would force certain advanced positions upon the church at large and urge her to issue pronouncements which, however formal and perhaps generally ineffective, are nevertheless irritating to the more conservative group within the church and maddening to certain publicans and sinners without the church. Of course, a variety of opinion on social questions is common in all churches, but church union does accentuate the difficulties. While probably all the ministers in the United Church would affirm with great conviction that the church as such should exert leadership and guidance in matters of social reconstruction and social reform, and that the powers of religion should be hopefully harnessed to the tasks of social control, they may be unwilling to accept the views of a few extremists as synonymous with essential Christianity. One detects a measure of resentment among the more conservative element, especially among former Presbyterians, at various efforts to stampede the church along the lines either of a puritanical righteousness, or of social radicalism.

Certain of the secular and conservative papers are constantly baiting the United Church for its social radicalism, and they make caustic comments on every official pronouncement of that body against war, or in favor of prohibition, and especially on such manifestos as seem to imply that the capitalistic system must be discarded or reorganized. There is undoubtedly in the United Church a certain group of radicals whose social principles, in theory at least, smack of Christian communism. The more responsible leaders of the church are, however, more cautious, and while they recognize that some changes must and should come, they refuse to be parties to any wholesale indictments. Many of the pronouncements made by the church (e.g., the recent endorsement in 1932, of the report of the Department of Evangelism and Social Service on Marriage and Divorce) only register the general trends of liberal public opinion without incorporating anything particularly new in respect either to philosophy or to method. Little has been done, except through the Council of Social Service (a co-operative enterprise), to build up a research department similar to that maintained by the Federal Council of Churches in the United States, for the purpose of investigating certain social and industrial conditions and presenting a constructive and impartial report on the subject. The Department of Social Service acts largely as a stimulant to social thinking, sometimes as a social irritant, but its effectiveness will be immeasurably increased if it devotes itself more fully either to the development of sound educational procedures on the one hand or to impartial and constructive social research on the other, in either case leaving the individual members of the church to determine for themselves what specific changes in the social structure, if any, they will endeavor to promote.

THE DEMOCRACY OF THE CHURCH

A word is necessary regarding the loyalty of the United Church to democratic and lay control. The former Methodist Church might not have regarded itself as a hierarchy, but it is undeniable that pre-union Congregationalists and Presbyterians did so consider it. They felt, however, that they had adequately safeguarded the democratic principle in the Basis of Union. The question, therefore, may well be asked whether in the United Church the hierarchic or the democratic tendency has gained the upper hand. This is not an easy question to answer categorically, but certain conditions are clear enough.

The United Church is essentially a representative democracy, and its system of government would seem to an outsider to be practically Presbyterian, modified with a certain Methodist flavor, while the Congregationalists, on their part, retained for their individual congregations the sole right to dispose of their own property. Moreover, the freedom of call was so definitely inscribed in the "Basis" and in the very fabric of the church itself that one may safely venture to prophesy its permanence. Further, those Methodist churches that were reinforced by strong Presbyterian minorities almost uniformly adopted the plan of government for new charges which gives the congregational meeting a larger place in the determination of the policies of the local church than Methodist churches had formerly encouraged.

In respect to the higher courts of the church, there has also been an inevitable tendency towards the devolution of authority. In some respects, the presbytery remains in the United Church as powerful as it was in the former Presbyterian Church; in other respects, conference is as powerful as it was in the former Methodist Church. Presbytery and conference are both highly jealous of their rights, and any effort towards greater centralization of authority would face insuperable obstacles, not the least of which would be the Barrier Act itself, which requires the assent of the majority of presbyteries to any proposed vital change in the constitution of the church. Such devolution of authority is perhaps more necessary in a country like Canada, of such vast distances and filled with the democracy of the frontier, than in a more compact territory or a more settled culture. In the last analysis, the success of a religious movement in Canada depends upon the acumen and ability of the men at work in the field, and not on pronunciamentos made by ecclesiastical authorities four thousand miles away.

Indeed, the author has sometimes felt that possibly a fourth court of the church may eventually prove desirable. The boundaries of conferences are quite large enough for the problems of administration within the area, but many of these conferences could quite properly be brought together in somewhat larger units for the purposes of fellowship and the consideration of identical problems and mutual inspiration. Much might be gained if representatives from the conferences of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba came together, perhaps once in two years or once in four years, to consider the challenge of their own section of the country, and if similar opportunities were provided for the Maritime and Newfoundland conferences and again for the four conferences in Ontario and Quebec. If this were done, then it might be possible for the General Council to meet quadrennially instead of biennially as at present,[8] and the net result might be much more than a certain saving of time and money. However ultimately feasible or unfeasible such a plan might be—and such a change in policy would require a remit to presbyteries—the United Church must, not only because of the provisions of the "Basis" but also because of the inherent nature of the country itself, practise a large measure of devolution. Perhaps no Protestant church in any other country in the world is required to administer religious work over a territory so immense and so sparsely populated as that which The United Church of Canada serves. These facts in themselves demand devolution of authority.

On the other hand, the self-same facts also involve some oversight and direction. So long as the frontier ministers depend for a considerable portion of the sources of their livelihood on the more settled and richer areas, so long presumably must they submit to supervision from those who stand between them and contributors. As the frontier becomes more populous, the need for such centralization will probably grow less. The problem must be solved in the light of realities, not theories. Meanwhile, it must be admitted that democracy and economy do not necessarily go hand in hand. The traveling expenses of conference representatives on each of the boards of the church who must come long distances to attend meetings soon aggregate a goodly sum. Those who insist on "representative democracy" must be prepared to pay its bills.

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[8] If the General Council met quadrennially and the sectional gatherings mentioned above also met quadrennially, the two types of meetings could be dovetailed, e.g., in 1940 the General Council might meet; in 1942, the sectional gatherings; in 1944, the General Council, etc.

Nor is it always easy to harmonize local autonomy with the temper developed over a period of years by those who had labored in a highly connexional church. Prior to Union, one of the arguments urged by non-concurring Presbyterians in certain areas—perhaps, most notably, in the Maritime provinces—was that, if Union were consummated, churches would find themselves "assessed" by the higher courts and would have to pay willy-nilly. This the Unionists formally and vehemently denied. As a matter of fact, the Presbyterians were the first of the three Canadian denominations to practise "assessment" in the form of an apportionment, since they alone had a central fund for the schemes of the church. Further, at the General Assembly in 1923, a committee of the Presbyterian Church, dealing with the pension fund of the church, had recommended:

> "An assessment to be made upon every congregation to be based upon the stipend paid by the congregation, such assessment, together with the stipend to be a first charge upon the revenue of the congregation." (See Minutes, 1923, p. 243.)

In the Methodist Church, however, churches were definitely assessed a certain percentage of the salary of their ministers for the pension fund, and this amount was not only expected, it was required. It was this fear of compulsory taxation that seemed to agitate some of the Presbyterians.

Now, in the United Church, there have been definite suggestions for "assessments," especially in the case of ministers. At the General Council in Hamilton, in 1932, resolutions were presented which would make mandatory assessments of one or more per cent. of the salaries of all ministers receiving more than $1,800 a year and house, the proceeds to be devoted to making up deficiencies in the salaries of men whose churches could not or would not pay them the minimum. Highly commendable as is the solicitude for those less fortunately placed, such drastic methods are at once unjustifiable and ineffective. To make a voluntary appeal to those assumed to be more fortunate is one thing; to use the coercive power of the church is another, and, in the opinion of some, a violation of the spirit of the "Basis" to which those who view with suspicion the excessive growth of connexionalism in a church would object. The General Council of the United

Church refused to approve the proposed resolutions, and at the time of writing, there is little evidence that such efforts would have much success and every reason to believe that the church, in making appeals for help to both ministers and individual congregations, will continue to act on the presumption that it may suggest, but it cannot command. If the proponents of such "assessments" were to succeed, however, they would give to the non-concurring Presbyterians a most obvious confirmation of their pre-union fears. Churches, like civil governments, need money for their various enterprises, and always seek to secure it from those who are alleged to have it; but if those who have it become suspicious that they are being "milked," the repercussions of their disaffection upon the whole body corporate are apt to be disastrous.

Efforts to safeguard democratic procedure may also be observed in the conduct of its business by the General Council. Naturally, many important problems are presented to this court, almost any of which might precipitate an endless debate if not considered exhaustively in committee. Each board of the church and each special commission is required to present its report in writing prior to the meeting of the Council, and these reports are included in the printed agenda and placed in the hands of all the delegates. When the reports are formally presented and interpreted in their major aspects at various early sessions of the Council, they are not at once debated, but immediately referred back to a special sessional committee, usually appointed by the Moderator to consider the particular report as presented. These sessional committees have then an opportunity to review the original recommendation in the light of the reaction of the delegates and the views of all departments or persons particularly affected. It is the findings of these committees which the Council as a whole then debates, approves, modifies, or rejects. There can be no doubt that such a procedure expedites business, while it provides for the preliminary and informal sounding of the opinion of the commissioners (that is, delegates to the Council) in the matter before it is thrown open to the more protracted discussion which so frequently develops when a large group of ministers (and laymen) are free to make addresses from the floor of the house.

There are, however, two dangers in this procedure that must be guarded against. In the first place, the agenda for the Council, with the preliminary reports, may not always be printed in sufficient time to acquaint the church at large with proposals involving a drastic change in administrative policy. A thoroughly democratic procedure would provide that the whole church should be duly informed of such proposals and allowed to debate the matter in the denominational press before the delegates actually came together. A second danger is that certain issues which might with profit be publicly aired may be considered in detail only in the meetings of the sessional committee. This, to be sure, has its advantages, but occasionally it has its perils. On the whole, however, the conference methods adopted by the church seem to be not only thoroughly democratic but also based on a sound educational philosophy.

In one other matter, the democratic emphasis still needs development. On almost every committee or board the laymen are assured an equal representation with the clergy. As in most other churches, however, laywomen are, with a few notable exceptions, conspicuous by their absence, except on those boards on which the constitution requires, in their *ex-officio* membership, representatives of the women's societies.

TODAY AND TOMORROW

The achievement of the United Church must be judged not by any *a priori* standards, but in the light of the difficulties it has faced and the commanding goals it has sought. The church-union movement in Canada had a bad start when it carried less than 70 per cent. of the former Presbyterian Church into Union, and left in the wake of its triumphant consummation of June 10, 1925, a legacy of bitterness which separated friends and broke churches, communities and the nation at large into fighting factions. The bitterness is gradually dying, but its fires are far from dead in many hearts. Largely because of this initial difficulty, the Union has not been able to demonstrate the phenomenal developments in community religion through the consolidations of churches or the economies in overhead expense which had been hoped for.[9] The responsibility for this cannot be placed on the United Church alone. In the dénouement those who at any price refused to be a party to the union and insisted on adherence to a philosophy which placed the entire church at the mercy of a "minority of one" must, in the verdict of history, take their full share of the blame.

At the same time, it is possible, not only to read in the controversy itself object lessons for the rest of the world, such as have been intimated in the course of this report, but also to trace the hand that overcomes evil with good. The United Church was welded together as by fire, and those members who might have expected in church union an easier way, especially in the matter of giving, have discovered in the sacrifice necessary to maintain its ideal, the truer temper of the unionist soul. The actual fusion of Methodists and Presbyterians, frequently so different in religious expression and temperament, would probably have taken years, had they not been forced to stand together for the cause of union on a dozen fronts. In the struggle, they became brothers, they all but lost their labels. It is actually difficult, if not impossible, for one who does not know the personnel intimately to sit in at a session of one of the church courts and decide on the basis of appearance, attitude or address, who were former Presbyterians, who Methodists, who Congregationalists. In the first years of the Union, great care was taken to see that the membership of all boards contained a proper proportion of men who had been connected with each of the three former denominations, but almost all need for such a solicitude has vanished. The old denominational lines have been for the most part obliterated.

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[9] It need hardly be pointed out in the light of the whole discussion that the major successes in effecting local consolidation had been achieved by the Canadian Church Union movement, before the actual consummation of Union and under the coöperative system.

The fusion has been hastened, as intimated above, by the actual refusal of non-concurring Presbyterians to go into the Union and the intensity of the fight to secure the enabling legislation. Hence, the United Church must thank the non-concurrents for no small part of its success in actually achieving so soon an inner harmony within itself. While many of the non-concurrents represented a fine strain of Presbyterianism, there were, it must be admitted, not a few who were temperamentally uncoöperative. Had they been incorporated in the United Church, the actual fusion might have been delayed. At all events, the possibilities of real union depend upon the general will to unite, and coöperation requires coöperativeness. Again, the presence of a vigorous, continuing Presbyterian Church has been a challenge to the Methodist majority in the United Church to use its power with discretion. Hence, quite apart from its own interpretation of its rôle, the continuing Presbyterian Church has indirectly served the cause of church union.

While here and there, within the United Church, querulous voices are sometimes raised suggesting that things were better in the good old days before Union, such voices are very few and rather faint. The vast majority of both ministers and laymen in the United Church feel that their union has been, in spite of undoubted difficulties, a great success, and that the success has been spiritual rather than economic. Overlapping has undoubtedly been avoided in many parts of the country and other economies have been effected, but almost every man who was interviewed emphasized the enlargement of horizon and fellowship due to the Union. There had been an undoubted cross-fertilization of ideas which had resulted in a stimulation to thinking, the removal of ancient prejudices, a closer approximation to reality, a willingness to attempt new methods—in short, the Union had led to a spiritual and intellectual house-cleaning.

It is at this point that the real vitality of the United Church is evident; it is less its achievement to date than the essential temper it has acquired, which holds so great promise for its tomorrow. It has begun to grow a new and modern soul to meet the needs of a modern age, and with it all, it has learned to gain a richer appreciation of the threefold tradition which it has inherited, and thus, to appreciate afresh all sound tradition. In shaking off its sectarian shackles, it has clothed itself with a real catholicity, which sees from afar a regenerated ecclesia into whose treasury each denomination of Christendom may contribute its pearl of great price. The fact that many persons in Canada had to fight so hard and to suffer so much for this idea explains in part their passionate allegiance to it now. One cannot scientifically estimate the potency of such idealism, but to ignore it is to miss the mark in any appraisal of the situation. The vision has never been better described by any Canadian than by the Rev. George Monro Grant, later Principal of Queen's University, in 1874, at a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Montreal—one year before the actual formation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. He said, in part:

> "God will give us the church of the future. It shall arise in the midst of us, with no sound of hammer heard upon it, comprehensive of all the good and beauty that He has ever evolved in history. To this church, Episcopacy shall contribute her comely order, her faithful and loving conservatism; and Methodism impart her enthusiasm, her zeal for missions, and her ready adaptiveness to the necessities of the country; the Baptist shall give his full testimony to the sacred rights of the individual; the Congregationalist his to the freedom and independency of the congregation; and Presbyterianism shall come in her massive, well-knit strength, holding high the Word of God; and when, or even before, all this comes to pass, that is, when we have proved our Christian charity, as well as our faithfulness, proved it by deeds, not words, who shall say that our Roman Catholic brethren, also, shall not see eye to eye with us, and seal with their consent that true unity, the image of which they so fondly love? Why not? God can do greater things even than this. And who of us shall say, God forbid?"[10]

It is on such idealism that the United Church thrives.

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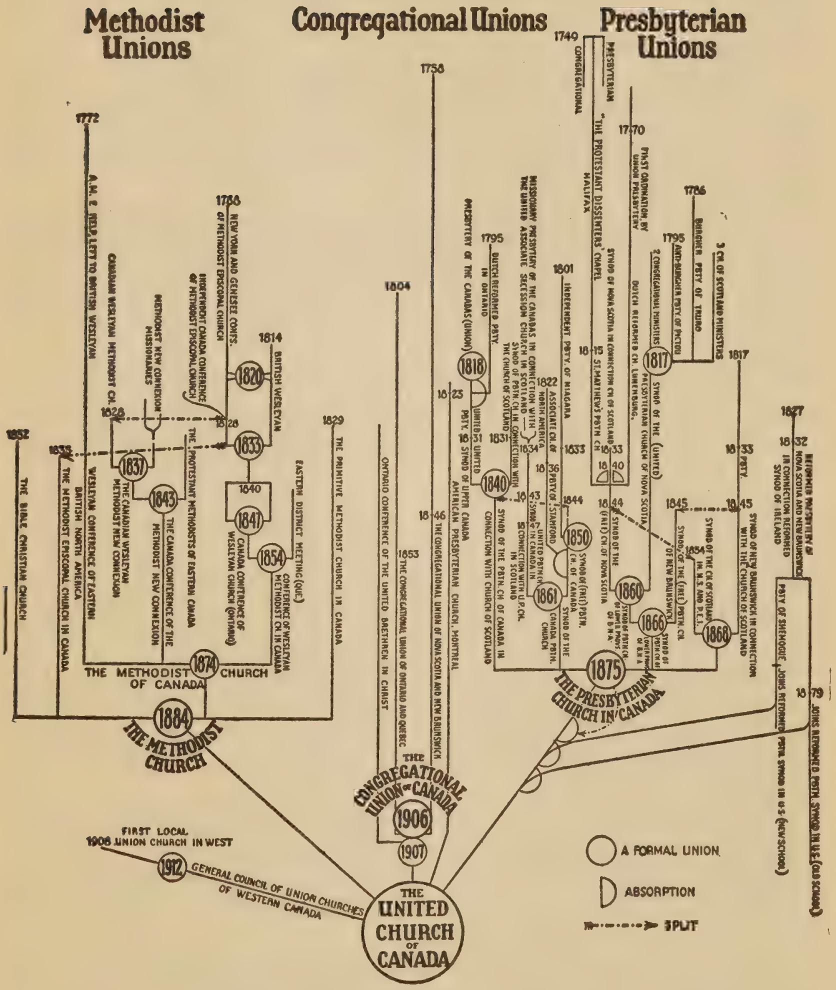
[10] Grant and Hamilton: *George Monro Grant,* p. 155.

APPENDICES

Appendix A


Methodist Unions
Congregational Unions
Presbyterian Unions
1772
A.M.E. HELD LEFT TO BRITISH WESLEYAN
1788
NEW YORK AND GENESEE CONFS. OF METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
INDEPENDENT CANADA CONFERENCE OF METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CANADIAN WESLEYAN METHODIST CH.
METHODIST NEW CONNEXION MISSIONARIES
1814
BRITISH WESLEYAN
1820
1828
1833
1837
1840
1843
1847
1854
1874
1884
1829
THE PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH IN CANADA
1832
THE BIBLE CHRISTIAN CHURCH
THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CANADA
WESLEYAN CONFERENCE OF EASTERN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA
THE CANADIAN WESLEYAN METHODIST NEW CONNEXION
THE CANADA CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST NEW CONNEXION
THE PROTESTANT METHODISTS OF EASTERN CANADA
CANADA CONFERENCE OF WESLEYAN CHURCH (ONTARIO)
EASTERN DISTRICT MEETING (QUE.)
CONFERENCE OF WESLEYAN METHODIST CH. IN CANADA
THE METHODIST CHURCH OF CANADA
THE METHODIST CHURCH
1758
1804
ONTARIO CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST
1853
THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ONTARIO AND QUEBEC
1846
THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK
AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, MONTREAL
THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF CANADA
1906
1907
1749
CONGREGATIONAL
PRESBYTERIAN
"THE PROTESTANT DISSENTERS' CHAPEL" HALIFAX
1770
FIRST ORDINATION, BY UNION PRESBYTERY
DUTCH REFORMED CH. LUNENBURG.
1786
BURGHER PBTY. OF TRURO
1795
ANTI-BURGHER PBTY. OF PICTOU
2 CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS
3 CH. OF SCOTLAND MINISTERS
1817
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NOVA SCOTIA
SYNOD OF THE (UNITED)
1815
ST. MATTHEW'S PBTN. CH.
SYNOD OF NOVA SCOTIA IN CONNECTION CH. OF SCOTLAND
1801
INDEPENDENT PBTY. OF NIAGARA
1795
DUTCH REFORMED PBTY. IN ONTARIO
PRESBYTERY OF THE CANADAS (UNION)
MISSIONARY PRESBYTERY OF THE CANADAS IN CONNECTION WITH THE UNITED ASSOCIATE SECESSION CHURCH IN SCOTLAND
SYNOD OF PBTN. CH. IN CONNECTION WITH THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
1818
1823
UNITED PBTY.
1831
UNITED SYNOD OF UPPER CANADA
1822
ASSOCIATE CH. OF NORTH AMERICA
1834
1833
1836
PBTY. OF STAMFORD
1840
1843
1844
1847
SYNOD OF THE PBTN. CH. OF CANADA IN CONNECTION WITH CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
UNITED PBTN. CH. SYNOD IN CANADA IN CONNECTION WITH U.P. CH. IN SCOTLAND
1850
SYNOD OF (FREE) PBTN. CH. OF CANADA
1861
CANADA PBTN. CHURCH
SYNOD OF THE
1833
1840
1844
SYNOD OF THE (FREE) CH. OF NOVA SCOTIA
1860
SYNOD OF PBTN. CH. OF LOWER PROVS. OF B.N.A.
1845
SYNOD OF THE (FREE) PBTN. CH. OF NEW BRUNSWICK
1854
SYNOD OF THE CH. OF SCOTLAND IN N.S. AND P.E.I.
1866
1868
1833
PBTY.
1845
SYNOD OF NEW BRUNSWICK IN CONNECTION WITH THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
1875
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA
1827
1832
REFORMED PRESBYTERY OF NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK IN CONNECTION REFORMED SYNOD OF IRELAND
PBTY. OF SHEMOGUE, JOHNS REFORMED PBTN. SYNOD IN U.S. (NEW SCHOOL)
1879
JOHNS REFORMED PBTN. SYNOD IN U.S. (OLD SCHOOL)
1908 FIRST LOCAL UNION CHURCH IN WEST
1912
GENERAL COUNCIL OF UNION CHURCHES OF WESTERN CANADA
THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA
A FORMAL UNION
ABSORPTION
SPLIT

UNIONS OF CHURCHES IN CANADA LEADING TOWARD THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

Appendix B

Resolutions Proposing Conference on Organic Union Passed by the Methodist General Conference at Winnipeg, September 18, 1902

While this Conference declares itself in favor of a measure of organic unity wide enough to embrace all the evangelical denominations in Canada, and regrets that hitherto all efforts and negotiations have failed to result in the formulation of such a comprehensive scheme, so that at present the outlook for it does not seem practicable:

Yet, inasmuch as the problem of the unification of several of these denominations appears to present much less serious obstacles, since their relations are already marked by a great degree of spiritual unity, and they have already become closely assimilated in standards and ideals of church life, forms of worship and ecclesiastical polity:

And since, further, the present conditions of our country and those in immediate prospect demand the most careful economy of the resources of the leading and aggressive evangelical denominations, both in ministers and money, in order to overtake the religious needs of the people pouring into our new settlements, which economy seems impossible without further organic unity, or its equivalent.

This General Conference is of the opinion that the time is opportune for a definite practical movement concentrating attention on, and aiming at the practical organic unity of those denominations already led by Providence into such close fraternal relations.

And whereas a definite proposal has been discussed to some extent in the press and elsewhere looking to ultimate organic union of the Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist Churches in Canada, this General Conference, in no spirit of exclusiveness towards others not named, declares that it would regard a movement with this object in view with great gratification, believing that the deliberate friendly discussion of the doctrinal, practical and administrative problems involved, with the purpose of reaching an agreement, would not only facilitate the finding and formulation of a Basis of Union, but would also educate the people interested into a deeper spirit of unity and into that spirit of reasonable mutual concession on which the successful consummation of such movements ultimately so largely depends.

And this General Conference would further commend the movement to the prayerful interest and sympathy of the Methodist Church, in the devout and earnest hope that, if organic union of the denominations named be achieved, it may be accompanied with great blessings to the Church and to the nation at large and redound to the greater glory of God.

That a representative committee, to be composed of the General Superintendent, seven ministers and seven laymen, be appointed to receive communications on the subject of the foregoing resolutions from the Churches named, confer with committees that may be appointed by such Churches, and report to the next General Conference.

Appendix C

Report of the Committee of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec on Church Union

On behalf of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec we desire to express to the united Committees of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational bodies our deep appreciation of the Christian courtesy in inviting us to conference with a special Committee on the question of the union of Protestant Christian bodies in Canada. We also desire to congratulate them on the substantial progress which appears to have been made toward such a union by the three bodies which have hitherto been engaged in these negotiations. In regard to our relation to this movement permit us to present the following statement as expressive of the position which we feel compelled to take:—

The Baptist people rejoice in all the manifestations of mutual love among the followers of Jesus Christ and seek on their own part to cultivate a holy fellowship with all Christians. They recognize with thankfulness the gracious operation of the Spirit of God among their brethren of other denominations and feel themselves to be one with them in many of those things which concern the progress of the Kingdom of God on earth. At the same time they do not admit that the organic union of all Christians is an essential condition of Christian unity or even necessarily promotive of it. For Christians who differ on questions which some of them hold to be of vital importance it is surely better to admit the impracticability of corporate union than to seek to compass such a Union at the cost of sacrificing cherished convictions.

In their organization of independent local churches and in their associational gatherings and conventions Baptists have not infrequently made use of brief statements of doctrines which they hold to be Christian, as a basis of mutual co-operation, but do not seek to establish a uniform confession for all their churches, nor do they regard assent to any fixed confessional statement as a pre-requisite to membership in a Baptist church or to a place in the Baptist ministry. They feel that the free and independent interpretation of the Scriptures by each man for himself, combined with the spirit of love and obedience, is not only promotive of earnest reflection on divine things and strength of personal conviction, but is a surer and more enduring way of securing unity among Christians. They oppose any tendency to erect a human standard of authority over the conscience, to lessen the sense of direct personal responsibility to God, or to obscure the consciousness of immediate relationships with Him. Accordingly, while they entertain a deep respect for various historic Christian creeds they are not solicitous to identify themselves with these creeds or to claim any organic relation with the churches that established them as standards of belief.

The Baptist people regard all truly religious affiliations as reposing, on the one hand, on God's gracious self-communication to human souls, and on the other hand, on each man's free acceptance to the Divine grace and obedience to the Divine Will. As we understand the Scriptures, only those who are the subjects of such a spiritual experience are capable of participation in Christian fellowship or entitled to membership in a Christian church. Believing, therefore, in the spirituality of the Christian church, that is, that a Christian church is constituted by voluntary union of those alone who by personal repentance and faith,—not by natural birth, nor by proxy, nor by ceremony, nor by any overt act of the Church,—have come into fellowship with God in Christ, they do not regard the claim to ecclesiastical succession in any of its forms as a matter of concern to them. They acknowledge an historical succession from Christ and his apostles; but its nature is spiritual, not ecclesiastical; coming through personal influence and the proclamation of the Gospel, not by means of forms, rites, or ceremonies.

The same principle prevents them from admitting knowingly to Church membership any except those who have been spiritually renewed. Thus they cannot regard the children of Christian parents as entitled by birth or membership in a Christian household to a place in a Christian church or as proper subjects of its ordinances. It cannot be granted that the Christian ordinances of Baptism or the Lord's Supper convey in any sense to their recipients the spiritual grace which they symbolize, for they have meaning and value, only as they express the faith and grace already possessed by those who in these acts of obedience confess their relation to Christ. Hence the practice of infant baptism and the consequences which follow it are a fatal impediment to organic union between the Baptists and Paedo-Baptist churches. Hence also the impossibility of Baptists consenting to an alteration of the original mode of baptism, because without the immersion its representation of the believer's union with Christ in His death and resurrection is lost. Further, the doctrine of the spirituality of the Christian church demands that it avoid all alliance with secular authorities. Such alliances have been fruitful of evil.

The Baptist belief in the immediacy of each man's relations with God and in the necessity of personal faith in Christ in order to salvation carries with it the rejection of all forms of church polity, which admit the spiritual distinction of clergy and laity or the subjection of the individual Christian to any spiritual authority but Christ himself. This does not exclude the necessary disciplinary function of the local church, but in reality, carries with it the dignity and autonomy of that organization and its freedom from all subjection to a higher authority.

It is because of these principles which represent to them the Divine Will that the Baptists find it necessary to maintain a separate organized existence. In relation to these matters, they can feel themselves under a Divinely imposed obligation to propagate their views throughout the world.

Appendix D

Text of Instructions Issued re Unionist Minority Groups

Toronto, Jan. 2, 1925.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed we are sending you certain information which we trust may be of value and you will distribute it where and when it may seem necessary and advisable.

The results of the vote at the time of writing are very satisfactory indeed, over 129 congregations having voted in our favor, many of them unanimously, and some nine against. Before this reaches you, further results will be at hand, and I am sure they will be satisfactory also.

One of our chief concerns at the moment is to secure every possible vote. A good deal of apathy seems to exist in many congregations and the enemy may take advantage of this to bring in a block of votes at the very end. The only safe course is to bring every possible voter to the polls. I am sure that you will get in touch with the organizers in the various churches under your care and see that this is done as far as possible.

We are also anxious concerning those congregations where the vote has been delayed. We are quite sure that the enemy will concentrate in these points, and we will need to do the same. You will be able to use the men from the congregations where the vote has been taken.

We would like you to send us a list immediately, if possible, of such congregations where the vote has not yet been taken, and the dates when it is proposed to take the same. This will be of great assistance to us here.

There are also certain United congregations where the vote was taken at the time when they became a United Church. These may have no further vote. We would like to have a list of these congregations also, as it would seem necessary to publish them in our totals.

Again let me remind you of the necessity of seeing that complete returns from all congregations under your care are sent in immediately to Rev. J. H. Edmison, D.D., 434 Confederation Life Building, Toronto, on the standard forms which have been sent to each minister for that purpose. The telegraphic and telephone returns are not always accurate, and we desire to have this permanent and official record. We would like to have it at the earliest possible moment. We are sending you a few additional copies of such standard form, in case some minister may have mislaid those sent to him.

Any further help or information will be gladly furnished.

Wishing you the Compliments of the season,

Yours very sincerely,

JWW/HC (Sgd) John W. Woodside.

Your Committee beg leave to submit the following report:

UNIONIST MINORITIES IN NON-CONCURRING CONGREGATIONS

Unionist minorities in congregations that vote non-concurrence will be guided by local conditions or circumstances in determining whether they will withdraw immediately or remain until June 10th under guidance of Presbytery's Committee.

Reasons for Continuance in a Non-Concurring Congregation Until June 10th

I. Such minority would be in position to co-operate in the support of a Unionist minister who may decide to remain until June 10th.

II. The Unionist minority, by remaining, may in some instance prove a factor in persuading the congregation to continue independent, and later on, to consider its decision and enter the United Church.

III. By remaining, the non-concurring congregation may be induced to continue its contributions to the missionary enterprises of the Presbyterian Church until the final separation takes place.

IV. As no Provincial Act has yet been passed in Ontario, Quebec and Prince Edward Island, touching the disposition of congregational property, it may be necessary in these Provinces to retain connection with the congregation until it is known whether or not another vote may be required, or what rights minorities may be given in congregational property.

Reasons for Immediate Withdrawal After the Vote

I. Where the organization of a new congregation of the United Church is necessary, the opportune time for such action would seem to be immediately after the vote has been taken.

II. Inasmuch as the vote has crystallized public opinion, the immediate future is the most favorable time for re-grouping of the various forces in the community.

III. Immediate withdrawal would mean:
  (a) A larger following for the United Church.
  (b) A briefer period of strained relationships.
  (c) A more congenial atmosphere for worship and service.
  (d) An assured avenue for contributions to the missionary enterprises of the United Church.

CASES

I. In congregations with a *Unionist Minister,* which vote non-concurring:
  (1) The minister and the Unionist minority, if strong enough, might start a new cause (a) in rented quarters, or (b) in a new building.
  (2) The minister and the Unionist minority might arrange to go to the nearest United Church, provided there is accommodation.
  N.B.—In order to insure the success of either of these plans, the Unionist minority should be organized and induced to move as a unit.

II. In congregations with an *ANTI-Unionist Minister,* which vote non-concurrence:
  (1) The Unionist minority, if strong enough, may start a new cause, with a Union minister, in rented or temporary quarters.
  (2) Unionist minorities might transfer their membership to nearby Presbyterian congregations that have voted Union.
  (3) By a re-grouping of preaching points, Presbytery might care for (a) Union minorities that decide to begin a new cause, (b) isolated Union churches.
  (4) The Unionist minority, when too small to form a new cause and too far from a United Church, should remain in the non-concurring congregation, and, if possible, have that congregation continue independent, and later on, enter the United Church.

Appendix E

Forms

(a) *Form Used by Congregational Union in Securing Proper Authorization from Individual Congregations*

CHURCH UNION

Form of Procedure in Securing Action by the Churches

1. *NOTICE,* to be given on two Sundays preceding the Church Meeting:

"Notice is hereby given that there will be held on.............................. at the hour of.............. a special business meeting of this Church to consider the approval of the Basis of Union as adopted by the Congregational Union of Canada, the Methodist Church, Canada, and the Presbyterian Church in Canada, for the union of the three denominations in "The United Church of Canada," and further to consider the approval of the draft Bills of Dominion and Provincial legislation for the incorporation of "The United Church of Canada," with Trusts of Model Deed as prepared and approved by the Joint Committee on Church Union, and the authorization and instruction of the Congregational Union of Canada on behalf of this Church to take all such action, legislative and otherwise, as may be necessary to consummate the said Union."

2. *RESOLUTION OF THE CHURCH:*

Moved by .... seconded by.................................., and carried, "That this Church in special meeting convened after due notice for the purpose, hereby resolves as follows:

We approve of the Basis of Union adopted by the Congregational Union of Canada, the Methodist Church, Canada, and the Presbyterian Church in Canada, for the Union of the three denominations in "The United Church of Canada."

This Church approves the draft Bills of Dominion and Provincial legislation for the incorporation of "The United Church of Canada," with Trusts of Model Deed as prepared and approved by the Joint Committee on Church Union, and agrees as a Church to enter the said union and become part of "The United Church of Canada," when formed.

This Church authorizes and instructs the Congregational Union of Canada to take all such action, legislative and otherwise, as may be necessary to consummate the said Union.

3. *CERTIFICATION OF RESOLUTION:*

........................1923.

We hereby certify that the above resolution was duly carried at a duly convened meeting of the................................Congregational Church of ....held on the......................day of ....1923.

...........................Chairman of Meeting.
...........................Secretary of Church.

Kindly return the above resolution, duly certified, to the General Secretary, Rev. Wm. T. Gunn, D.D., 137 Confederation Life Bldg., Toronto, as soon as possible, and not later than April 9th, 1923.

(b) *Form Sent out by the Ontario Church Property Commission, Stating Facts Required from All Applicants*

INFORMATION TO BE FURNISHED ON MAKING APPLICATION.

(*Four typewritten copies of the application should be furnished giving the following information.*)

1. Name and location of each congregation in respect of which the application is made or affected by it.

2. On whose behalf the application is made and the name and address of the person to be communicated with.

3. The nature of the application (for example, specifying under which provision or provisions of the United Church of Canada Act the application is made), giving as to each ground relied on an outline of the points to be urged.

4. A list of the written material, if any, in connection with the application.

5. Particulars of the vote in each congregation affected, giving as to each

(*a*) The date of the vote.
(*b*) The total number of qualified voters.
(*c*) The number of votes for Union and the number of votes against Union.

6. (*The following information is unnecessary if the sole ground of the application is that irregularities have occurred in the vote.*) Particulars of each congregation of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches, whether now part of the United Church of Canada or not, within five miles of the congregation in respect of which the application is made, giving as to each such congregation:

(*a*) The name and location.
(*b*) The approximate distance.
(*c*) The original denominational connection.
(*d*) The nature and approximate value of the property.
(*e*) The encumbrances and liabilities, if any.
(*f*) The seating capacity of the church building.
(*g*) The number and times of services on Sunday.
(*h*) The average attendance at each service at the time the application is made.
(*i*) The total membership at the time the application is made.
(*j*) In the case of congregations originally Presbyterian, particulars of the vote.

7. An outline of special facts, if any, which it is desired to bring to the attention of the Commission.

8. Date, Signature, and Address.

Appendix F

Tables

TABLE 1—RATIO OF SPECIFIED DENOMINATIONS TO TOTAL POPULATION IN CENSUS YEARS

Denomination	1871 %	1881 %	1891 %	1901 %	1911 %	1921 %	1931 %
Adventist	0.18	0.17	0.13	0.15	0.14	0.16	0.15
Anglican	14.17	13.35	13.37	12.69	14.47	16.02	15.76
Baptist	6.87	6.86	6.29	5.92	5.31	4.80	4.27
Brethren	0.07	0.20	0.23	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.13
Buddhist	....	....	....	0.19	0.14	0.13	0.15
Christian	....	....	....	0.13	0.23	0.14	0.11
Church of Christ	....	....	....	....	....	0.04	0.10
Confucian	....	....	....	0.10	0.20	0.31	0.23
Christian Science	....	....	....	0.05	0.07	0.16	0.18
Congregationalist	0.63	0.62	0.58	0.53	0.47	0.35	‡
Disciple	....	0.47	0.26	0.28	0.16	0.11	0.06
Doukhobor	....	....	....	0.16	0.15	0.14	0.14
Eastern religions	....	....	0.19	0.29	0.39	0.46	....
Evangelical	0.13	....	....	0.19	0.15	0.16	0.21
Friends	0.21	0.15	0.10	0.08	0.06	0.04	0.02
Greek Church	....	....	....	0.29	1.23	1.93	....
Greek Catholic*	....	....	....	....	....	....	1.80
Greek Orthodox*	....	....	....	....	....	....	0.98
Holiness Movement	....	....	....	....	....	0.04	0.04
International Bible Students	....	....	....	....	....	0.08	0.13
Jewish	0.03	0.60	0.13	0.31	1.03	1.42	1.50
Lutheran	1.09	1.06	1.32	1.72	3.19	3.26	3.80
Mennonite†	....	....	....	0.59	0.62	0.67	0.86
Methodist	16.27	17.11	17.54	17.07	14.98	13.19	‡
Mormon	0.02	....	....	0.13	0.22	0.22	0.21
No religion	0.15	0.06	....	0.09	0.36	0.25	0.20
Pagan	0.05	0.10	0.56	0.28	0.16	0.08	0.05
Pentecostal	....	....	....	....	....	0.08	0.25
Plymouth Brethren	0.06	....	....	0.06	0.05	0.07	0.07
Presbyterian	15.63	15.64	15.63	15.68	15.48	16.04	‡8.39
Protestant	0.29	0.15	0.25	0.22	0.42	0.35	0.23
Roman Catholic	42.80	41.43	41.21	41.51	39.31	38.57	39.48
Salvation Army	....	....	0.29	0.19	0.26	0.28	0.30
United Church	....	....	....	....	....	....	19.44
Unitarian	0.07	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.04
All other (various)	1.20	0.37	0.59	0.40	0.48	0.41	0.59
Not given	0.49	2.07	1.66	0.80	0.45	0.22	0.15

* Formerly included with the Greek Church. † Included with Baptists in 1891.

‡ Practically all Methodists and Congregationalists, and a large number of Presbyterians, united to form The United Church of Canada in 1925.

TABLE 2—CONGREGATIONAL VOTE ON CHURCH UNION, BY PROVINCES, 1910

Province	No. of Members	No. of Votes Cast For	Against	Total
Ontario	5,360	1,689	356	2,405
Manitoba & N. W.*	211	31	48	79
Quebec	2,376	658	250	908
N. S. & N. B.	1,049	395	79	474
Total	8,996	2,773	733	3,866
United Brethren†	603	160	32	192
Total	9,599	2,933	765	4,058

* Three out of eleven churches reporting. † Five out of eleven churches reporting.

TABLE 3—METHODIST VOTE ON CHURCH UNION, BY CONFERENCES, 1912
(From *The Christian Guardian*, July 17, 1912)

Conference	Official Board			Membership 18 yrs. of age and over			Membership Under 18 years of age			Adherents		
	Yes	No	Qualif'd Voters	Yes	No	Qualif'd Voters	Yes	No	Qualif'd Voters	Yes	No	Qualif'd Voters
Toronto	3,264	453	4,248	25,690	2,743	39,240	3,537	285	6,281	5,172	385	......
London	3,644	446	3,508	22,923	3,326	26,855	2,977	371	4,128	4,753	610	5,458
Hamilton	3,122	576	3,511	21,325	3,498	33,593	3,010	691	5,296	3,823	576	3,476
Bay of Quinte	2,586	340	3,164	19,416	2,252	28,334	2,167	241	3,993	4,308	532	5,924
Montreal	2,552	593	3,715	17,312	3,744	33,572	1,854	465	3,527	5,655	877	9,073
N. B. & P. E. I.	1,107	192	1,529	7,003	1,160	11,829	498	81	945	2,879	427	5,374
Nova Scotia	990	215	1,269	6,345	1,650	8,641	422	92	614	2,341	434	2,855
Newfoundland	369	622	1,184	1,731	4,045	8,179	98	198	595	1,194	2,787	5,590
Manitoba	1,857	170	2,322	10,732	782	15,802	1,295	89	1,854	4,151	261	5,022
Saskatchewan	1,739	96	2,003	7,754	474	9,423	840	39	1,167	4,103	180	4,283
Alberta	1,294	53	2,100	5,985	290	12,848	703	39	......	2,721	95	......
British Columbia	951	113	1,267	4,725	393	8,651	517	24	973	1,015	70	1,375
Totals	23,475	3,869	29,820	150,941	24,357	236,967	17,918	2,615	29,373	42,115	7,234	48,430

TABLE 4—PRESBYTERIAN VOTES ON UNION, BY PRESBYTERIES, 1912, 1915, 1925
(Incomplete)

(The votes cast as given in this table are not official, except those for 1925, but are drawn from the returns as published in *The Presbyterian.* They are, however, as complete as the data extant permit, and make possible a comparison of union and anti-union sentiment in the various presbyteries. Each number represents the total vote of elders, communicants and adherents.)

1912				Presbytery	1915		1925	
In favor of Organic Union?		In favor of Proposed Basis?			In favor of Revised Basis?		Final Vote	
Yes	No	Yes	No		Yes	No	Yes	No
				SYNOD OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES				
4,505	1,257	4,292	718	Sydney	4,013	3,394	2,647	2,056
5,239	1,126	4,677	1,036	Prince Edward	4,707	1,394	2,397	2,551
2,563	2,585	2,185	2,135	St. Johns	2,557	2,878	3,178	1,573
756	600	718	555	Lunenberg	1,027	541	353	482
1,598	642	1,211	539	Wallace	1,254	861	1,177	686
2,960	867	2,666	819	Halifax	3,128	1,515	1,820	790
3,016	509	2,715	464	Truro	2,425	1,345	1,872	338
......	.....	......	.....	Pictou	2,506	4,726	2,714	4,029
......	.....	......	.....	Inverness	2,387	1,094	714	594
3,567	956	......	.....	Miramichi	2,422	1,622	2,011	647
......	.....	......	.....	Trinidad	......	......	......	......
24,204	8,542	18,464	6,266	Total	26,426	19,370	18,883	13,746
				SYNOD OF MONTREAL AND OTTAWA				
1,221	785	974	611	Quebec	......	......	860	1,421
4,913	1,844	4,269	1,465	Montreal	5,928	5,117	7,272	7,541
2,070	1,037	2,304	905	Glengarry	2,858	1,802	1,762	2,272
4,533	1,046	3,738	808	Ottawa	3,496	1,621	5,078	3,222
3,844	1,737	3,282	1,522	Lanark	3,372	2,508	2,667	2,312
2,641	1,386	2,440	1,136	Brockville	1,844	1,848	1,231	2,018
19,222	7,835	17,007	6,447	Total	17,498	12,896	18,870	18,786
				SYNOD OF TORONTO AND KINGSTON				
2,835	1,443	2,246	1,133	Kingston	2,402	1,904	1,326	2,023
2,702	2,209	2,146	1,719	Peterborough	2,105	2,347	2,168	2,832
2,063	1,199	.....	....	Lindsay	1,791	1,525	1,128	1,637
1,182	511	832	410	Whitby	1,022	844	926	735
8,274	5,702	5,638	5,836	Toronto	8,426	8,696	16,129	18,385
......	.....	.....	.....	Barrie	2,980	2,732	1,576	4,198
1,709	434	694	138	North Bay	2,108	433	289	257
566	106	360	41	Temiskaming	604	213	62	137
......	.....	.....	.....	Sudbury	977	136	262	114
......	.....	.....	.....	Algoma	1,188	196	669	526
2,790	800	2,509	771	Owen Sound	2,291	1,376	1,778	1,065
......	.....	.....	.....	Saugeen	1,595	1,639	1,369	1,420
3,392	2,524	1,936	1,807	Guelph	2,472	3,234	2,973	5,139
3,460	831	2,607	775	Orangeville	2,600	1,396	1,641	1,542
28,973	15,759	18,968	12,630	Total	32,561	26,671	32,296	40,010

TABLE 4—PRESBYTERIAN VOTES ON UNION, BY PRESBYTERIES, 1912, 1915, 1925
Continued—(Incomplete)

1912					1915		1925	
In favor of Organic Union?		In favor of Proposed Basis?		Presbytery	In favor of Revised Basis?		Final Vote	
Yes	No	Yes	No		Yes	No	Yes	No
				SYNOD OF HAMILTON AND LONDON				
5,908	2,605	.....	.....	....Hamilton....	4,870	4,399	5,362	8,721
2,636	1,966	1,748	1,483	......Paris......	3,044	1,890	2,650	2,882
......	.....	.....	.....	.....London.....	4,360	3,061	4,144	4,233
2,728	1,610	2,270	1,347	....Chatham....	2,786	1,477	2,301	2,362
2,530	1,951	1,404	1,233	......Sarnia.....	1,970	2,042	1,487	2,181
2,999	1,244	1,005	410	....Stratford....	2,273	1,962	1,706	3,331
2,724	1,374	.....	.....	......Huron......	2,247	1,609	1,674	1,440
2,001	2,503	1,460	1,991	....Maitland....	1,528	2,865	1,487	2,126
2,014	1,000	501	533	......Bruce......	1,470	1,426	1,255	1,651
637	301	479	237	.....Superior.....	930	349	1,200	775
24,177	14,554	8,867	7,234	......Total......	25,478	21,080	23,266	29,702
				SYNOD OF MANITOBA				
5,218	876	4,919	812	....Winnipeg....	5,724	856	5,413	927
1,981	555	785	207	....Rock Lake....	1,724	426	474	45
989	105	956	101	....Glenboro....	632	180	358	63
......	.....	.....	.....	Portage la Prairie	1,350	223	345	302
......	.....	.....	.....	.....Dauphin.....	1,195	86	208	28
......	.....	.....	.....	....Minnedosa....	2,191	245	302	68
2,841	440	2,730	392	.....Brandon.....	2,953	527	709	441
11,029	1,976	9,390	1,512	......Total......	15,769	2,543	7,809	1,874
				SYNOD OF SASKATCHEWAN				
......	.....	.....	.....	.....Yorkton.....	898	146	179	50
......	.....	.....	.....	....Kamsack....	.....	.....	428	.....
1,024	280	948	272	....Abernethy....	1,185	141	594	103
1,208	345	.....	.....	....Qu'Appelle....	1,352	479	618	325
476	88	38	34	......Arcola......	486	160	340	86
850	55	783	46	.....Alameda.....	813	105	509	37
571	105	.....	.....	....Weyburn....	556	200	350	1
......	.....	.....	.....	....Assiniboia....	.....	.....	366	73
2,663	346	2,488	174	.....Regina.....	2,672	260	1,480	493
......	.....	.....	.....	....Moosejaw....	1,738	408	1,817	363
1,290	86	1,173	89	....Saskatoon....	2,548	274	1,662	517
......	.....	.....	.....	...Prince Albert...	807	90	500	274
1,100	136	.....	.....	....Battleford....	688	143	489	66
......	.....	.....	.....	....Kindersley....	1,507	75	259	111
......	.....	.....	.....	...Swift Current...	589	78	259	143
9,182	1,441	5,430	615	......Total......	15,839	2,559	9,850	2,642

TABLE 4—PRESBYTERIAN VOTES ON UNION, BY PRESBYTERIES, 1912, 1915, 1925
Continued—(Incomplete)

1912				Presbytery	1915		1925	
In favor of Organic Union?		In favor of Proposed Basis?			In favor of Revised Basis?		Final Vote	
Yes	No	Yes	No		Yes	No	Yes	No
444	75	.....	.....	....Vermilion....	607	154	121	79
831	533	.....	.....	....Edmonton....	1,617	1,005	1,213	917
......	.....	.....	.....	...Peace River...	.....	.....	64	5
532	242	298	88	.....Lacombe.....	643	213	171	85
......	.....	.....	.....	....Red Deer....	421	411	188	379
......	.....	.....	.....	......Castor......	.....	.....	208	28
1,276	885	787	684	.....Calgary.....	2,398	761	1,071	1,231
......	.....	.....	.....	...Medicine Hat...	378	276	251	323
651	132	617	127	....High River....	350	90	170	96
587	196	165	20	....MacLeod....	1,053	168	256	217
4,321	2,063	1,867	919	......Total......	7,467	3,078	3,713	3,360
				SYNOD OF BRITISH COLUMBIA				
......	.....	.....	.....	....Kootenay....	927	246	306	194
872	350	742	279	....Kamloops....	1,389	364	769	244
......	.....	.....	.....	.....Cariboo.....	134	4	57	7
......	.....	.....	.....	...Westminster...	3,397	1,805	4,575	2,812
963	249	775	216	.....Victoria.....	1,005	675	1,153	798
1,835	599	1,517	495	......Total......	6,852	3,094	6,860	4,055
122,943	52,769	81,510	36,118	...Grand Total*..	147,890	91,291	121,547	114,175

* The disparity between the totals given in these columns and those given in the text of this book, page 173, is due to the fact that those given above are incomplete while those given in the text were the official and summary figures submitted to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada by the committees authorized to report on the vote. As various presbyteries sent in their returns, *The Presbyterian* published them, or at least most of them, and this is the source of the information offered above. It is quite obvious, however, that the paper failed to give the returns for all the presbyteries. In addition, some of these figures may have issued prematurely and might have been changed when fuller reports had been assembled. There is also the danger of typographical slips. These figures are, however, the only figures extant which indicate the general trend of the voting by presbyteries. The director was unable to discover the detailed list on which the official returns of the votes were compiled. Some day it may be possible to correct the above list by reference to the official minutes of the individual presbyteries if these are ever made readily available. It seemed wise to the director, however, to include even the incomplete data given above for what they may be worth.

TABLE 5—CONGREGATIONALIST, METHODIST AND PRESBYTERIAN POPULATION, FIVE CENSUS YEARS, BY PROVINCES

Province	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931*
Ontario	1,124,059	1,159,063	1,211,052	1,311,257	1,424,350
Quebec	96,513	105,200	111,975	120,277	147,698
Nova Scotia	166,259	166,809	169,856	171,301	159,471
New Brunswick	77,179	76,509	74,541	76,708	77,427
Prince Edward Island	46,679	44,155	39,726	37,361	36,782
Manitoba	69,253	117,168	175,070	211,796	231,891
Saskatchewan	13,809	28,467	177,100	265,571	311,299
Alberta	6,911	22,086	130,809	214,054	248,628
British Columbia	30,357	60,326	137,084	190,345	248,814
Yukon and N. W. T.	229	7,838	2,057	868	1,019
	1,631,248	1,787,621	2,229,270	2,599,538	2,887,379

* 1931 figures are for United Church and Presbyterians.

TABLE 6—CONGREGATIONALIST, METHODIST AND PRESBYTERIAN POPULATION COMPARED WITH TOTAL POPULATION, FIVE CENSUS YEARS

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Congregationalists	28,157	28,293	34,054	30,730	2,016,897*
Methodists	847,765	916,886	1,079,892	1,159,458	
Presbyterians	755,326	842,442	1,115,324	1,409,407	870,482
Total, 3 churches	1,631,248	1,787,621	2,229,270	2,599,595†	2,887,379
Total population	4,788,483	5,371,315	7,206,643	8,788,484	10,376,786
Per cent. 3-church pop. to total pop.	34.07	33.28	30.93	29.58	27.83

* United Church.

† The difference between this total and that given in Table 5 is due to the inclusion of certain men serving in the Royal Canadian Navy.

TABLE 7—COMPARATIVE STATISTICAL STATEMENT FOR CONTINUING PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, YEARLY, SINCE 1925

(As reported by the churches)

Item	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
GENERAL							
Ministers	558	626	654	677	705	702	711
Manses	492	531	550	582	589	573	568
Self-sustaining charges	434	432	427	438	439	433	430
Congregations in them	625	657	641	633	664	639	631
Augmented charges	162	161	167	172	170	171	167
Congregations in them	303	287	296	316	308	314	303
Missions	130	167	182	181	192	200	210
Congregations in them	212	304	343	339	353	377	385
Preaching Stations	1,140	1,248	1,281	1,298	1,325	1,330	1,319
Families	77,388	83,651	87,623	89,242	90,698	91,328	91,125
S. S. Teachers	10,037	11,102	11,531	11,279	11,437	11,485	11,663
S. S. Scholars	85,870	96,968	101,994	99,992	100,387	98,988	99,837
S. S. Total	95,907	108,070	113,525	111,271	111,824	110,473	111,500
Members received by							
Profession	9,597	10,287	9,242	8,229	7,387	6,989	7,447
Certificate	18,855	11,474	9,540	7,893	7,050	6,921	5,816
Total	28,452	21,761	18,782	16,122	14,437	13,910	13,263
Members removed	23,605	9,942	9,264	9,425	10,913	11,172	10,846
Net gain	4,847	11,819	9,518	6,697	3,524	2,738	2,417
Total Membership	154,243	163,374	172,518	176,841	179,530	180,680	180,956
FINANCIAL							
Stipends paid by	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
Churches	1,037,180	1,186,672	1,244,796	1,265,734	1,292,980	1,301,698	1,269,604
Grants	40,914	88,015	97,685	103,595	122,288	122,356	116,334
Total	1,078,094	1,274,687	1,342,481	1,369,329	1,415,268	1,424,054	1,385,938
Church Expenses	2,558,417	3,299,307	3,561,870	3,655,826	3,543,134	3,269,048	3,020,939
Schemes of the Church (Budget)	302,150	408,441	458,519	538,516	483,445	493,644	450,813
Woman's Missionary Society	140,508	189,081	199,394	213,022	208,892	207,602	193,832
All Benevolences	627,205	715,469	815,825	912,598	853,989	896,865	823,778
Grand Total Raised	3,219,113	4,139,722	4,472,089	4,668,216	4,467,615	4,284,336	3,909,209

TABLE 8—COMPARATIVE STATISTICAL STATEMENT FOR THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA, YEARLY, SINCE 1925

(From The United Church of Canada Year Book)

	Year ending March 31 1926	Year ending March 31 1927	Year ending Dec. 31 1927	Year ending Dec. 31 1928	Year ending Dec. 31 1929	Year ending Dec. 31 1930	Year ending Dec. 31 1931
*Membership	609,729	623,648	636,755	647,154	650,733	662,253	671,443
Received on Profession of Faith	28,432	26,767	20,100	27,699	24,232	26,296	25,560
Members of Session	18,905	21,597	20,207	22,204	22,665	23,158	24,057
Stewards or Managers	29,442	32,314	33,183	33,745	35,000	34,618	37,320
Other Members of Official Boards	19,147	17,813	17,981	17,687	17,336	16,404	16,271
Number of Families	369,562	385,494	395,724	405,425	406,887	417,815	421,953
Number of Persons not connected with Families	66,708	67,421	68,955	73,468	82,131	85,351	81,413
Number of Persons under Pastoral Care	1,261,778	1,456,540	1,418,361	1,485,384	1,524,019	1,572,246	1,600,083
Baptisms	29,670	28,763	25,147	30,336	30,031	30,400	30,815
Marriages	15,554	17,265	15,027	18,958	19,430	17,902	16,953
Burials	20,605	21,273	16,917	22,789	23,249	23,190	21,990
Sunday Schools	6,926	5,722	5,873	5,922	6,009	5,933	5,975
Membership of Sunday Schools	579,482	610,958	619,570	613,799	616,419	624,606	653,315
Membership of Young People's Societies	104,607	113,322	112,135	150,953	156,210	168,961	186,445
Total Value of Local Church Property	$76,738,136	$78,001,478	$85,254,934	$88,375,729	$90,670,095	$92,103,802	$92,734,983
Total Debt on Local Church Property	$7,108,780	$7,790,121	$8,230,861	$8,741,281	$8,448,660	$8,819,934	$8,898,833
Total Insurance on Local Church Property	$36,396,368	$39,091,282	$41,840,071	$43,249,405	$44,155,284	$51,040,501	$48,591,639
Amount received for M. and M. Fund	$3,751,732†	$2,815,655	$2,258,642‡	$2,885,929	$2,696,710	$2,721,269	$2,405,326
Salaries paid Ministers	$4,795,466	$4,990,784	$3,929,572	$5,297,461	$5,349,530	$5,225,971	$4,924,522
Arrears in Ministers' Salaries	$103,992	$102,852	$52,897	$49,357	$63,356	$105,142	$176,014
Conference and Presbytery Funds	$76,494	$134,260	$78,789	$93,712	$95,693	$96,386	$91,081
Other purposes, hospitals, Bible Society, etc	$259,519	$298,576	$257,487	$304,085	$369,472	$293,431	$255,785
Woman's Missionary Society	$797,201	$807,280	$681,153	$908,013	$913,212	$903,892	$838,367
Sunday Schools for all purposes	$858,703	$1,024,844	$821,026	$1,001,478	$1,027,756	$982,872	$954,059
Young People's Societies for all purposes	$229,938	$292,135	$194,338	$249,946	$242,901	$248,412	$232,874
Women's Organizations (Ladies' Aid) for all purposes	$1,502,985	$1,756,560	$1,544,171	$1,894,397	$1,957,071	$1,784,195	$1,497,788
Grand Total raised for all purposes	$16,968,243	$15,253,079	$13,241,176	$16,713,663	$16,831,717	$16,421,286	$14,302,154

* A Membership of 600,522 was reported at June 10th, 1925.
† Included 15 months' offerings from many Congregations.
‡ Nine months only.

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